THE

HISTORY

OF THE

WAR IN AMERICA,

BETWEEN

GREAT BRITAIN

AND

HER COLONIES,

FROM

Its Commencement to the end of the Year 1778.

In which its ORIGIN, PROGRESS, and OPERATIONS are faithfully related, together with Anecdotes and Characters of the different Commanders, and Accounts of ſuch Perſonages in Congreſs as have diſtinguiſhed themſelves during the Conteſt.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

A Collection of Intereſting and Authentic PAPERS tending to elucidate the Hiſtory.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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THE EDITOR'S

PREFACE.

IN the preſent enlightened age, to enumerate the advantages attending hiſtorical reſearches, were almoſt unneceſſary. When *Knowledge*, *Impartiality*, and a regard to *Truth*, guide the hiſtorian's pen, he claims both our eſteem and attention. Should the ſubject he undertakes to illuſtrate be connected with the welfare of our country; ſhould it tend to keep alive a truly national ſpirit, and to promote public felicity, it becomes highly intereſting.

By hiſtory, we become acquainted with the origin, and ſtate of different kingdoms and commonwealths; their reſpective manners and governments; the genius and improvements of the inhabitants; their religion and policy. We may, likewiſe, ſee what has occaſioned the riſe and fall of empires; what hath rendered them free and happy, or laid their honours, and their ſtrength in the duſt.

Through the agreeable road of hiſtory, we may travel with eaſe, profit, and at a ſmall expence, almoſt every part of the habitable world. A laudable curioſity is thus gratified; by this, knowledge and pleaſure are happily united. Nay, it has been ſaid, that Hiſtory has triumphed over time itſelf, which nothing but eternity hath done!

An application to any ſtudy, that tends neither to make us wiſer and better, is at beſt, as Tillotſon ſays, but an ingenious ſort of idleneſs. The knowledge obtained by it, is but a creditable kind of ignorance.

By reading the lives of eminent ſtateſmen, legiſlators, philoſophers, warriors, and thoſe illuſtrious characters who, at the expence of life and property, have maintained the religious and civil rights of their country, our hearts are warmed by the nobleſt ſentiments; we, in a manner, renew their glorious ſtruggles, and re-fight their battles in the cauſe of Freedom. Hence, the virtue of one generation, may, by the magic of example, be transfuſed into ſeveral, and a ſpirit of heroiſm properly cultivated.

The hiſtories of Greece and Rome, of Europe, and particularly of theſe nations, to which we are ſaid to belong, ſhould at leaſt be, in ſome meaſure, known to all whoſe time and circumſtances permit. But the diſcovery of the *New World*, has opened a large and noble field for hiſtorical diſquiſitions. There, the ſcene is auguſt, and extended: the tranſactions that have paſſed on ſo grand a theatre of action, are great and intereſting. As Britiſh ſubjects are intimately connected with them, a ſummary recital of ſuch as are recent and important, cannot but prove agreeable to moſt readers.

Tho' the chief deſign of the Editor, was to give, in one connected view, an Hiſtory of the principal Proceedings in the Colonies ſince the Conteſt with America commenced; with all the material Papers, Declarations, Letters, Speeches, Petitions, &c. that have paſſed between Great-Britain, and the United Provinces,

to

to the End of the Year 1778; yet, in order to render the Work as comprehenſive as poſſible, a brief Sketch of the Riſe and Progreſs of the preſent War is added; alſo, a ſhort Account of America from the earlieſt Diſcoveries. This will tend to illuſtrate the ſubject, and to give a further view of the arguments that have been urged on both ſides.

A faithful detail of facts, of civil and military operations during ſo buſy and intereſting a period, while it entertains, muſt (where proper reflections are made) be alſo uſeful to many perſons, whoſe time, or circumſtances will not, with convenience, permit them to read larger and more expenſive productions.

Our documents and materials have been taken from the beſt authors, and moſt authenticated accounts. The judicious will ſee, that many of the remarks and arguments are moſt maſterly, though the writers from whom they are borrowed be not named: Nor are ſtriking incidents and anecdotes wanting to embelliſh this performance.

But tho' obligation, and aſſiſtance be here acknowledged, a great deal of original matter has been furniſhed by men of letters and moderation. The ariſing obſervations, being founded on truth, the mind may be led to form juſt notions of legiſlation and government, and to deteſt venality and deſpotiſm.

Hence, our Work will, it is hoped, prove friendly to Conſtitutional Liberty, to Virtue, and our Country's welfare. This is the ſincere wiſh of the

EDITOR.

A

GENERAL HISTORY

OF

AMERICA,

FROM ITS FIRST DISCOVERY,

TO THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE PRESENT CIVIL WAR.

PART I.

CHAPTER I.

America firſt diſcovered in 1492 *by Columbus. His propoſal rejected by ſeveral courts, but adopted by Iſabella of Spain. Diſcovers Hiſpaniola. Mexico conquered by Cortez. Brief account of that great empire. Peru reduced under the dominion of Spain. Extent and boundaries of America. General deſcription thereof. Account of the antient Indians.*

THIS vaſt continent of America was entirely unknown to the European, and all other nations in the world, till the year 1492, when it was diſcovered by CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, a native of Genoa. This man, having ſome how or other obtained a more juſt notion of the figure of the earth than moſt of his cotemporaries, projected a ſcheme of ſailing to the Eaſt Indies by directing his courſe Weſtward. The reaſon he had for ſo ſtrange a project was indeed the errors in the maps which were made of thoſe Eaſtern countries at that time; for by them the Eaſt Indies were placed ſo very far to the Eaſtward, that it appeared to Columbus, the navigation muſt go a great deal more than half round the globe before they could come at any part of them. In conſequence of this ſuppoſition, the thought was very rational, that it would to be a much ſhorter, and leſs dangerous voyage to ſail Weſtward, as they believed they would fall in with the Eaſtern parts of Aſia before they had ſail'd round half the circumference of the globe; as no part of the world can be diſtant from another more than half this circumference, provided the ſhorteſt way to it is taken. But how Columbus, at that time, when it was reckoned a mor-

1492.

Columbus, a native of Genoa, firſt adopts the ſcheme of directing his courſe for the Eaſt-Indies, weſtwardly.

tal hereſy to ſay that the earth was round, came to have notions ſo different from the common, and not only to imagine that the earth was ſpherical, but that its circumference did not extend to a certain ſpace, we are not certainly informed. Be this, however, as it will, Columbus was willing that his own country ſhould reap the benefits of his ſuperior knowledge in this reſpect: and therefore he communicated his new ſcheme to the court of Genoa, who rejected it as an abſurdity. He then applied ſucceſſively to the courts of France, Britain, and Portugal; from all of which he met with a reception of the ſame kind; and had the mortification to find, that his own ſuperiority of knowledge to the reſt of mankind only ſerved to make him their laughing ſtock. At laſt he applied to Spain, where, after eight years attendance, perhaps the curioſity natural to her ſex, induced Queen Iſabella to raiſe money on her jewels, in order to defray the expence of his expedition.

His ſcheme is rejected at ſeveral European courts, but is taken up by Iſabella of Spain.

In 1492, then Columbus ſet ſail from Spain, with three ſhips, in ſearch of countries hitherto undiſcovered, and which almoſt every one believed to exiſt only in imagination. His ſailors were with great difficulty kept in ſubjection; but being kept in hopes of land, ſometimes by great flights of birds, and at others, by obſerving quantities of weeds floating in the ſea, they were kept from breaking out into open mutiny, till the diſcovery of land, after a voyage of 33 days, put an end to their fears. In this voyage the variation of the compaſs was firſt diſcovered, which occaſioned ſuch an alarm among Columbus's ſailors, that they were with difficulty prevented from throwing him overboard.

Sets ſail, and finds land 33 days after his departure.

Columbus firſt landed on one of the Bahama iſlands; but finding nothing there of conſequence, he ſteered Southward, where he diſcovered the iſland of Hiſpaniola, which promiſing conſiderable quantities of gold, he therefore propoſed to make the centre of his diſcoveries; and having left ſome of his companions, as the baſis of a new colony, he returned to Spain.

The iſland of Hiſpaniola diſcovered.

On his return, he found no difficulty in procuring neceſſaries for a ſecond voyage. A fleet of 17 ſail was immediately fitted out, and 1500 perſons, ſome of them of high rank, prepared to accompany Columbus, now when they hoped to ſhare his good fortune. In this ſecond voyage he diſcovered moſt of the Weſt-India iſlands; and in a third, he diſcovered the continent of South America, ſailing up the river Oronoko. After having thus diſcovered the continent, and made ſettlements in the iſlands of America, the malice of his enemies prevailed ſo far againſt him, that he was ſent to

Returns to Spain, equips a new fleet and makes a 2d and 3d voyage.

Europe

Europe in irons. His innocence, however, got the better of their calumnies, and this great man died in peace at Valladolid in 1506.

The ſucceeding governors of Cuba and Hiſpaniola rendered themſelves as infamous by their cruelties, as Columbus had been famous for his virtues. Theſe iſlands contained mines of gold; the Indians only knew where they were plac'd, and the extreme avarice of the Spaniards, hurried them to acts of the moſt ſhocking violence and cruelty againſt thoſe unhappy men, who, they believed, concealed from them part of their treaſure. In a few days they depopulated Hiſpaniola, which contained three millions of inhabitants; and Cuba, that had about 600,000. Bartholomew de la Caſas, a witneſs of thoſe barbarous depopulations, ſays, that the Spaniards went out with their dogs to hunt after men. The unhappy ſavages, almoſt naked and unarmed, were purſued like deer into the thickeſt of the foreſts, devoured by dogs, killed with gun-ſhot, or ſurprized and burnt in their habitations.

The effects of avarice.

The Spaniards had hitherto only viſited the continent: but conjecturing that this part of the new world would afford a ſtill more valuable conqueſt, Fernando Cortez was diſpatched from Cuba with 600 men, 18 horſes, and a ſmall number of field pieces. With this inconſiderable force, he propoſed and actually did ſubdue the moſt powerful ſtate on the continent of America: this was the empire of Mexico; rich, powerful, and inhabited by millions of Indians, paſſionately fond of war, and then headed by Montezuma, whoſe fame in arms ſtruck terror into the neighbouring nations, and extended over one half the globe. This empire had ſubſiſted for ages; its inhabitants were a poliſhed and intelligent people. They knew, like the Egyptians of old, whoſe wiſdom is ſtill admired in this particular, that the year conſiſted nearly of 365 days. Their ſuperiority in military affairs was the object of admiration and terror over all the continent; and their government, founded on the ſure baſis of laws combined with religion, ſeemed to bid defiance to time itſelf. Mexico, the capital of the empire, ſituated in the middle of a ſpacious lake, was the nobleſt monument of American induſtry: it communicated with the continent by immenſe cauſeways, which were carried through the lake. The city was admired for its buildings, all of ſtone, its ſquares and market-places, the ſhops which glittered with gold and ſilver, and the ſumptuous palaces of Montezuma, ſome erected on columns of jaſper, and containing whatever

The empire of Mexico ſubdued by the Spaniards

A deſcription of that empire.

was moſt rare, curious, or uſeful. Cortez, in his march, met with feeble oppoſition from the nations along the coaſt of Mexico, who were terrified at their firſt appearance. Wherever the Spaniards marched, they ſpared no age or ſex, nothing ſacred or profane. At laſt, the inhabitants of Tlaſca, and ſome other ſtates on the coaſt, deſpairing of being able to oppoſe them, entered into their alliance. Cortez, thus re-inforced, marched onward to Mexico: and in his progreſs diſcovered a volcano of ſulphur and ſalt-petre, whence he could ſupply himſelf with powder. Montezuma heard of his progreſs, without daring to oppoſe it, though he commanded 30 vaſſals, of whom each could appear at the head of 100,000 combatants, armed with bows and arrows.

By ſending a rich preſent of gold which only whetted the Spaniſh avarice, Montezuma haſtened the approach of the enemy. No oppoſition was made to their entry into his capital. Cortez had good reaſon, however, to diſtruſt the affected politeneſs of this emperor, under which he ſuſpected ſome plot for his deſtruction to be concealed; but he had no pretence for violence; Montezuma loaded him with kindneſs, and with gold in greater quantities than he demanded, and his palace was ſurrounded with artillery, the moſt frightful of all engines to the Americans. At laſt a circumſtance fell out which afforded Cortez a pretext for beginning hoſtilities. In order to ſecure a communication by ſea to receive the neceſſary reinforcements, he had erected a fort, and left a ſmall garriſon behind him at Vera Cruz, which has ſince become an emporium of commerce between Europe and America. He underſtood that the Americans in the neighbourhood had attacked this garriſon in his abſence, and that a Spaniard was killed in the action, that Montezuma himſelf was privy to this violence, and had iſſued orders that the head of the ſlain Spaniard ſhould be carried through his provinces, to deſtroy a belief, which then prevailed among them, that the Europeans were immortal. Upon receiving this intelligence, Cortez went in perſon to the emperor, attended by a few of his moſt experienced officers. Montezuma pleaded innocence, in which Cortez ſeemed extremely ready to believe him, though at the ſame time he alledged that the Spaniards in general would never be perſuaded of it unleſs he returned along with them to their reſidence, which would remove all jealouſy between the two nations. Thus Montezuma, in the middle of his own palace, and ſurrounded by his guards, gave himſelf up a priſoner, to be diſpoſed of according to the inclination of his enemies. Cortez had now

got

got into his hand an engine by which every thing might be accompliſhed. The Americans had the higheſt reſpect, or rather a ſuperſtitious veneration for their emperor. Cortez, therefore, by keeping him in his power, allowing him to enjoy every mark of royalty but his freedom, maintained an eaſy ſovereignty over Mexico, by governing its prince. Did the Mexicans, grown familiar with the Spaniards, begin to abate of their reſpect? Montezuma was the firſt to teach them more politeneſs. Was there a tumult, excited through the cruelty or avarice of the Spaniards? Montezuma aſcended the battlements of his priſon, and harangued the Mexicans into order and ſubmiſſion. This farce continued a long while; but on one of theſe occaſions, a ſtone from an unknown hand, ſtruck the emperor on the temple, which in a few days occaſioned his death. The Mexicans, now elected a new prince, the famous Gatimozin, who from the beginning diſcovered an implacable animoſity againſt the Spaniſh name. Under his conduct the unhappy Mexicans ruſhed againſt thoſe very men, whom a little before they had offered to worſhip. The Spaniards, however, by the dextrous management of Cortez, were too firmly eſtabliſhed to be expelled from Mexico. The immenſe tribute which the grandees of this country had agreed to pay to the crown of Spain, amounted to 600,000 marks of pure gold, beſides an amazing quantity of precious ſtones, a fifth part of which was diſtributed among the ſoldiers, ſtimulated their avarice and their courage, and made them willing to periſh rather than part with ſo precious a booty. The Mexicans, however, made no ſmall efforts for independence; but all their valour, and deſpair itſelf, gave way before what they called the Spaniſh thunder. Gatimozin and the empreſs were taken priſoners. This was the prince who, when he lay ſtretched on burning coals, by order of one of the receivers of the King of Spain's exchequer, who inflicted the torture to make him diſcover into what part of the lake he had thrown his riches, ſaid to his high prieſt, condemned to the ſame puniſhment, and making hideous cries, "Do you take me to lie on a bed of roſes?" The high prieſt remained ſilent, and died in an act of obedience to his ſovereign. Cortez, by getting a ſecond emperor into his hands, made a complete conqueſt of Mexico; with which the Caſtille D'Or, Darien, and other provinces, fell into the hands of the Spaniards.

While Cortez, and his ſoldiers, were employed in reducing Mexico, they got intelligence of the empire of Peru, which extended in length near 30 degrees, and was the only o-

The Peruvian Empire, ſubmits to the Spaniſh yoke.

ther country in America, which deſerved the name of a civilized kingdom. This extenſive country, more important than Mexico itſelf, was reduced by the endeavours, and at the expence, of three private perſons. The names of theſe were, Francis Pizarro, Almagro, and Lucques, a prieſt, and a man of conſiderable fortune. The two former were natives of Panama, men of low education. Pizarro, could neither read nor write. They ſailed over into Spain, and without difficulty, obtained a grant of what they ſhould conquer. Pizarro then ſet out for the conqueſt of Peru, with 250 foot, 60 horſe, and 12 ſmall pieces of cannon, drawn by ſlaves from the conquered countries.

Some account of that country.

Mango Capac, the founder of the Peruvian empire, having obſerved that the people of Peru were naturally ſuperſtitious, and had a particular veneration for the ſun, pretended to be deſcended from that luminary, whoſe worſhip he was ſent to eſtabliſh, and whoſe authority he was entitled to bear. By this ſtory, he eaſily deceived a credulous people, and brought a large extent of territory under his juriſdiction. A larger ſtill he ſubdued by his arms; but both the force, and the deceit, he employed for the moſt laudable purpoſes, and there was no part of America, where agriculture and the arts were ſo aſſiduouſly cultivated, and where the people were of ſo mild and ingenuous manners. A race of princes ſucceeded Mango, diſtinguiſhed by the title of Yncas, and revered by the people as deſcendants of their great God the Sun. The twelfth of theſe was now on the throne, and named Atabalipa. His father Guaiana Capac, had conquered the province of Quito, which now makes a part of Spaniſh Peru. To ſecure himſelf in the poſſeſſion, he had married the daughter of the natural prince of that country, and of this marriage was ſprung Atabalipa. His elder brother, named Hueſcar, of a different mother, had claimed the ſucceſſion to the whole of his father's dominions, not excepting Quito, which devolved on the younger by a double connection. A civil war had been kindled on this account, which ended in favour of Atabalipa, who detained Hueſcar, as a priſoner, in the tower of Cuſco, the capital of the Peruvian empire. Atabalipa, inſtead of oppoſing the Spaniards, ſet himſelf to procure their favour. Pizarro, however, whoſe temper partook of the meanneſs of his education, had no conception of dealing gently with thoſe he called Barbarians. While he was engaged in conference therefore with Atabalipa, his men, as they had been previouſly inſtructed, furiouſly attacked the guards of that prince, and having butchered

chered 5000 of them, as they were preſſing forward, without regard to their particular ſafety to defend the ſacred perſon of their monarch, ſeized the emperor himſelf, whom they carried off to the Spaniſh quarters. Atabalipa was not long in their hands before he began to treat of his ranſom. On this occaſion, the ancient ornaments, amaſſed by a long line of magnificent kings, the hallowed treaſures of the moſt magnificent temples, were brought out to ſave him, who was the ſupport of the kingdom, and of the religion. While Pizarro was engaged in this negociation, by which he propoſed, without releaſing the emperor to get into his poſſeſſion an immenſe quantity of his beloved gold, the arrival of Almagro cauſed ſome embarraſſment in his affairs. The friendſhip, or rather the external ſhew of friendſhip between theſe men, was ſolely founded on the principle of avarice. When their intereſts therefore happened to interfere, it was not to be thought that any meaſures could be kept between them. Pizarro expected to enjoy the moſt conſiderable ſhare of the treaſure ariſing from the emperor's tanſom, becauſe he had the chief hand in acquiring it. Almagro inſiſted on being upon an equal footing; and at length, leſt the common cauſe might ſuffer by any rupture between them, this diſpoſition was agreed to. The ranſom was paid in without delay, a ſum exceeding their conception, but not capable to gratify their avarice. It exceeded 1,500,000 l. ſterling, and conſidering the value of money at that time, was prodigious: and the dividend, after deducting a fifth for the king of Spain, and the ſhares of the chief commanders and officers, to each private ſoldier was above 2000 l. Engliſh money.

The immenſe ranſom was only a farther reaſon for detaining Atabalipa in confinement, until they diſcovered whether he had another treaſure to gratify their avarice. But whether they believed he had no more to give, and were unwilling to employ their troops in guarding a prince, from whom they expected no farther advantage, or that Pizarro had conceived an averſion againſt the Peruvian emperor, it is certain, that by his command Atabalipa was put to death. Upon the death of the Ynca, the principal nobility ſet up the full brother of Hueſcar; Pizarro ſet up a ſon of Atabalipa; and two generals of the Peruvians endeavoured to eſtabliſh themſelves by the aſſiſtance of the army. Theſe diſtractions, which in another empire would have been extremely hurtful, and even here at another time, were at preſent rather advantageous to the Peruvian affairs. The candi-

dates fought againſt one another, their battles accuſtomed the harmleſs people to blood; and ſuch is the preference of a ſpirit of any kind raiſed in a nation to total lethargy, that in the courſe of thoſe quarrels among themſelves, the inhabitants of Peru aſſumed ſome courage againſt the Spaniards, whom they regarded as the ultimate cauſe of all their calamities. The loſſes which the Spaniards met with in theſe quarrels, though inconſiderable in themſelves, were rendered dangerous, by leſſening the opinion of their invincibility, which they were careful to preſerve among the inhabitants of the new world. This conſideration engaged Pizarro to conclude a truce; and this interval he employed in laying the foundations of the famous city Lima, and in ſettling the Spaniards in the country. But as ſoon as a favourable opportunity offered, he renewed the war againſt the Indians, and after many difficulties, made himſelf maſter of Cuſco, the capital of the empire. While he was engaged in theſe conqueſts, new grants and ſupplies arrived from Spain. Pizarro obtained 200 leagues along the ſea-coaſt, to the Southward of what had been before granted, and Almagro 200 leagues to the Southward of Pizarro's government. This diviſion occaſioned a warm diſpute between them, each reckoning Cuſco within his own diſtrict. But the dexterity of Pizarro brought about a reconciliation. He perſuaded his rival, that the country which really belonged to him, lay to the Southward of Cuſco, and that it was no way inferior in riches, and might be as eaſily conquered as Peru. He offered him his aſſiſtance in the expedition, the ſucceſs of which he did not even call in queſtion.

Almagro, that he might have the honour of ſubduing a kingdom for himſelf, liſtened to his advice; and penetrated with great danger and difficulty, into Chili; loſing many of his men as he paſſed over mountains of an immenſe height, and always covered with ſnow. He reduced, however, a very conſiderable part of this country. But the Peruvians now made an effort for regaining their capital, in which, Pizarro being indiſpoſed, and Almagro removed at a great diſtance, they were well nigh ſucceſsful. The latter, however, no ſooner got notice of the ſiege of Cuſco, than, relinquiſhing all views of diſtant conqueſts, he returned, to ſecure the grand object of their former labours. He raiſed the ſiege with great ſlaughter of the aſſailants: but having obtained poſſeſſion of the city, he was unwilling to give it up to Pizarro, who now approached with an army, and knew of no other enemy but the Peruvians. This diſpute occaſioned a long and bloody ſtruggle between them, in which the

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turns of fortune were various, and the reſentment fierce on both ſides, becauſe the fate of the vanquiſhed was certain death. This was the lot of Almagro, who, in an advanced age, fell a victim to the ſecurity of a rival, in whoſe dangers and triumphs he had long ſhared, and with whom, from the beginning of the enterprize, he had been intimately connected. During the courſe of this civil war, many Peruvians ſerved in the Spaniſh armies, and learned, from the practice of Chriſtians, to butcher one another. That blinded nation, however, at length opened their eyes, and took a very remarkable reſolution. They ſaw the ferocity of the Europeans, their unextinguiſhable reſentment and avarice, and they conjectured that theſe paſſions would never permit their conteſts to ſubſide. Let us retire, ſaid they, from among them, let us fly to our mountains; they will ſpeedily deſtroy one another, and then we may return in peace to our former habitations. This reſolution was inſtantly put in practice; the Peruvians diſperſed, and left the Spaniards in their capital. Had the force on each ſide been exactly equal, this ſingular policy of the natives of Peru, might have been attended with ſucceſs. But the victory of Pizarro put an end to Almagro's life, and the hopes of the Peruvians, who have never ſince ventured to make head againſt the Spaniards.

Pizarro, now ſole maſter of the field, and of the richeſt empire in the world, was ſtill urged on by his ambition, to undertake new enterprizes. The Southern countries of America, into which he had ſome time before diſpatched Almagro, offered the richeſt conqueſt. Towards this quarter, the mountain of Potoſi, compoſed of entire ſilver, had been diſcovered, the ſhell of which only remains at preſent. He therefore followed the tract of Almagro into Chili, and reduced another part of that country. Orellana, one of his commanders, paſſed the Andes, and ſailed down to the mouth of the river of Amazons: an immenſe navigation, which diſcovered a rich and delightful country, but as it is moſtly flat, and therefore not abounding in minerals, the Spaniards then, and ever ſince, neglected it.

Other European powers, are led to adopt Columbus' ſyſtem.

The ſucceſs of Columbus ſoon inſpired the other European nations with a deſire of making new diſcoveries. About the time of his third voyage, the Portugueze diſcovered Brazil, Sebaſtian-Cabot, a native of Briſtol diſcovered the North-Eaſt coaſts, which now form the Britiſh Empire in America, and Americus Veſpuſius, a merchant of Florence, ſailed to the Southern continent, and being a man of addreſs, had the honour of giving his name to this quarter of the globe.

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Extent and boundries of America.

This great Weſtern continent, (now denominated the New World,) extends from the 80 degree North, to the 56 degree South latitude; and where its breadth is known, from the 35 to the 136 degree of Weſt longitude, from London, ſtretching between 8 and 9000 miles in length, and in its greateſt breadth 3690. It has two ſummers and a double winter, and enjoys all the variety of climates which the earth affords. It is waſhed by the two great oceans. To the eaſtward it has the Atlantic, which divides it from Europe and Africa. To the weſt it has the Pacific, or great South-ſea, by which it is ſeparated from Aſia. By theſe ſeas it carries on a direct commerce with the other three parts of the world. It is compoſed of two great continents, one on the North, the other upon the South, which are joined by the kingdom of Mexico, which forms a ſort of iſthmus 1500 miles long, and in one part at Darien, ſo extremely narrow, as to make the communication between the two oceans by no means difficult, being only 60 miles over. In the great gulph, which is formed between the iſthmus, and the Northern and Southern continents, lye an infinite multitude of iſlands, many of them large, moſt of them fertile, and denominated the Weſt-Indies, in contradiſtinction to the countries and iſlands of Aſia, beyond the cape of Good-Hope, which are called the Eaſt-Indies.

Mountains.

Though America in general be not a mountainous country, it contains the greateſt mountains in the world. In South America the Andes, or Cordilleras, run from North to South along the coaſt of the Pacific ocean. They exceed in length any chain of mountains in the other parts of the globe; extending from the iſthmus of Darien, to the ſtreights of Magellan, they divide the whole Southern parts of America, and run a length of 4300 miles. Their height is as remarkable as their length, for though in part within the torrid zone, they are conſtantly covered with ſnow. In North America, which is chiefly compoſed of gentle aſcents or level plains, we know of no conſiderable mountains, except thoſe towards the pole, and that long ridge which lies on the back of our ſettlements, ſeparating our colonies from Canada and Louiſiana, which we call the Apalachian, or Alegeney mountains; if that may be conſidered as a mountain, which upon one ſide is extremely lofty, but upon the other is nearly on a level with the reſt of the country.

Rivers.

America is, without queſtion, that part of the globe which is beſt watered; and that not only for the ſupport of life, and all the purpoſes of fertility, but for the convenience of trade,

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and the intercourſe of each part with the others. In North America, thoſe vaſt tracts of country, ſituated beyond the Apalachian mountains, at an immenſe and unknown diſtance from the ocean, are watered by inland ſeas, called the Lakes of Canada, which not only communicate with each other, but give riſe to ſeveral great rivers, particularly the Miſſiſippi, running from North to South till it falls into the gulph of Mexico, after a courſe, including its turnings, of 4500 miles, and receiving in its progreſs the vaſt tribute of the Illinois, the Miſaures, the Ohio, and other great rivers, ſcarcely inferior to the Rhine, or the Danube; and on the North, the river St Laurence, running a contrary courſe from the Miſſiſippi, till it empties itſelf into the ocean near Newfoundland, all of them being almoſt navigable to their heads, lay open the inmoſt receſſes of this great continent, and afford ſuch an inlet for commerce, as are capable of producing the greateſt advantages. The Eaſtern ſide of North America, which makes a part of the Britiſh empire, beſides the noble rivers Hudſon, Delaware, Suſquehana and Potowmack, ſupplies ſeveral others of great depth, length, and commodious navigation.

South America ſupplies much the two largeſt rivers (excepting the Miſſiſippi) in the world, the river of Amazones, and the Rio de la Plata, or Plate River. The firſt riſing in Peru, not far from the South-Sea, paſſes from Weſt to Eaſt, and falls into the ocean between Brazil and Guiana, after a courſe of more than 3000 miles, in which it receives a prodigious number of great and navigable rivers. The Rio de la Plata, riſes in the heart of the country, and having its ſtrength gradually augmented, by an acceſſion of many powerful ſtreams, diſcharges itſelf with ſuch vehemence into the ſea, as to make it taſte freſh for many leagues from land. Beſides theſe there are other rivers in South America, of which the Oronoko is the moſt conſiderable.

Produce.

This country produces moſt of the metals, minerals, plants, drugs, fruits, trees, and wood, to be met with in the other parts of the world, and many of them in greater quantities and higher perfection. The gold and ſilver of America has ſupplied Europe with ſuch immenſe quantities of thoſe valuable metals, that they are become vaſtly more common; and the gold and ſilver of Europe now bears little proportion to the high price ſet upon them before the diſcovery of America.

Diamonds, pearls, emeralds, amethyſts, and other valuable ſtones, are likewiſe produced here, which by being brought

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into Europe, have contributed likewiſe to lower their value; and which, before the diſcovery of America, we were forced to buy at an extravagant rate from Aſia and Africa, through the hands of the Venetians and Genoeſe, who then engroſſed the trade of the Eaſtern world.

Before we enter upon the hiſtory of the Britiſh ſettlements in America, however, it will be proper to give ſome account of the original inhabitants of thoſe provinces which are now inhabited by our own countrymen; as the cuſtoms of thoſe Indians are ſo very unlike thoſe of any other nation, that an account of them cannot fail to be entertaining.

Ancient Indians, their dreſs and behaviour.

The bodies of the Indians in general, where the rays of the ſun are not too violent, are uncommonly ſtraight and well proportioned. Their muſcles are firm and ſtrong; their bodies and heads flattiſh, which is the effect of art; their features are regular, but their countenances fierce, their hair long, black, lank, and as ſtrong as that of a horſe. The colour of their ſkin is a reddiſh brown, admired among them, and heightened by the conſtant uſe of bears fat and paint. Their behaviour to thoſe about them is regular, modeſt, and reſpectful. Ignorant of the arts of amuſement, of which that of ſaying trifles agreeably is one of the moſt conſiderable, they never ſpeak but when they have ſomething important to obſerve; and all their actions, words, and even looks, are attended with ſome meaning. As they have no particular object to attach them to one place rather than another, they fly wherever they expect to find the neceſſaries of life in greateſt abundance. Cities they have none. The different tribes or nations are extremely ſmall, when compared with civilized ſocieties, in which induſtry, arts, agriculture, and commerce, have united a vaſt number of individuals, whom a complicated luxury renders uſeful to one another. Theſe ſmall tribes live at an immenſe diſtance; they are ſeparated by a deſert frontier, and hid in the bolom of impenetrable and almoſt boundleſs foreſts.

Their form of government.

There is eſtabliſhed in each ſociety a certain ſpecies of government, which over the whole continent of America prevails with very little variation; becauſe over the whole of this continent the manners and way of life are nearly ſimilar and uniform. In every ſociety there is to be conſidered the power of the chief and of the elders: and as the government inclines more to the one than to the other, it may be regarded as monarchial, or as a ſpecies of ariſtocracy. Among thoſe tribes which are moſt engaged in war, the power of the chief

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is naturally predominant, becauſe the idea of having a military leader, was the firſt ſource of his ſuperiority, and the continual exigencies of the ſtate requiring ſuch a leader, will continue to ſupport and even to enhance it. His power, however, is rather perſuaſive than co-ercive: he is reverenced as a father, rather than feared as a monarch. He has no guards, no priſons, no officers of juſtice, and one act of ill-judged violence would pull him from the throne. The elders, in the other form of government, which may be conſidered as an ariſtocracy, have no more power. In ſome tribes indeed there are a kind of hereditary nobility, whoſe influence being conſtantly augmented by time, is more conſiderable. But this ſource of power, is too confined to be very common among the natives of America. In moſt countries therefore, age alone is ſufficient for acquiring reſpect, influence, and authority. Among thoſe perſons buſineſs is conducted with the utmoſt ſimplicity. The heads of families meet together in a houſe or cabin, appointed for the purpoſe. Here the buſineſs is diſcuſſed, and here thoſe of the nation, diſtinguiſhed for their eloquence or wiſdom, have an opportunity of diſplaying thoſe talents. Their orators expreſs themſelves in a bold figurative ſtile, ſtronger than refined, or rather ſoftened nations, can well bear, and with geſtures equally violent, but often extremely natural and expreſſive. When the buſineſs is over, and they happen to be well provided in food, they appoint a feaſt upon the occaſion, of which almoſt the whole nation partakes. The feaſt is accompanied with a ſong, in which the real, or fabulous exploits of their forefathers are celebrated. They have dances too, though chiefly of the military kind, and their muſic and dancing accompanies every feaſt.

It often happens, that thoſe different tribes or nations, ſcattered as they are at an immenſe diſtance from one another, meet in their excurſions after prey. If there ſubſiſts no animoſity between them, which ſeldom is the caſe, they behave in the moſt friendly and courteous manner. But if they happen to be in a ſtate of war, or if there has been no previous intercourſe between them, all who are not friends, are deemed enemies, and fight with the moſt ſavage fury.

War, if we except hunting, is the only employment of the men; as to every other concern, and even the little agriculture they enjoy, it is left to the women. Their moſt common motive for entering into war, when it does not ariſe from an accidental rencounter, is either to revenge themſelves for the death of ſome loſt friend, or to acquire priſoners, who may aſ- Their manner of making war.

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ſiſt them in their hunting, and whom they adopt into their ſociety. Theſe wars are either undertaken by ſome private adventurers, or at the inſtance of the whole community. In the latter caſe, all the young men, who are diſpoſed to go out to battle, give a bit of wood to the chief, as a token of their deſign to accompany him. The chief, who is to conduct them, faſts ſeveral days, during which he converſes with no one, and is particularly careful to obſerve his dreams, which are generally as favourable as he could deſire. A variety of other ſuperſtitions and ceremonies are obſerved. One of the moſt hideous is ſetting the war-kettle on the fire, as an emblem that they are going out to devour their enemies, which amongſt ſome nations muſt formerly have been the caſe, ſince they ſtill continue to expreſs it in clear terms, and uſe an emblem ſignificant of the ancient uſage. Then they diſpatch a porcelain, or large ſhell to their allies, inviting them to come along, and drink the blood of their enemies.

Having finiſhed all the ceremonies previous to the war, they iſſue forth with their faces blackened with charcoal, intermixed with ſtreaks of vermilion, which give them a moſt horrid appearance. Then they exchange their cloaths with their friends, and diſpoſe of all their finery to the women, who accompany them to a conſiderable diſtance to receive thoſe laſt tokens of friendſhip.

The great qualities in an Indian war are vigilance and attention, to give and to avoid a ſurprize; and indeed in theſe they are ſuperior to all nations in the world. Accuſtomed to continual wandering in the foreſts, having their perceptions ſharpened by keen neceſſity, and living in every reſpect according to nature, their external ſenſes have a degree of acuteneſs which at firſt view appears incredible. They can trace out their enemies, at an immenſe diſtance, by the ſmoke of their fires, which they ſmell, and by the tracks of their feet on the ground, imperceptible to an European eye, but which they can count and diſtinguiſh with the utmoſt facility. They even diſtinguiſh the different nations with whom they are acquainted, and can determine the preciſe time when they paſſed, where an European could not diſtinguiſh footſteps at all. Theſe circumſtances, however, are of ſmall importance, becauſe their enemies are no leſs acquainted with them. When they get out, therefore, they take care to avoid making uſe of any thing by which they might run the danger of diſcovery. They light no fire to warm themſelves, or to prepare their victuals; they lye cloſe to the ground all day, and travel only in the night; and marching along in files,

files, he that closes the rear, diligently covers with leaves the tracks of his own feet, and also of theirs who preceded him. When they halt to refresh themselves, scouts are sent to reconnoitre the country, and beat up every place where they suspect an enemy may lye concealed. In this manner they enter unawares the villages of their foes, and while the flower of the nation are engaged in hunting, massacre all the children, women, and helpless old men, or make prisoners of as many as they can manage, or have strength enough to be useful to their nation. But when the enemy is apprized of their design, and coming on in arms against them, they throw themselves flat on the ground among the withered herbs and leaves, which their faces are painted to resemble. Then they allow a part to pass unmolested, when all at once, with a tremendous shout, rising up from their ambush, they pour a storm of musquet-bullets on their foes. The party attacked returns the same cry. Every one shelters himself with a tree, and returns the fire of the adverse party, as soon as they raise themselves from the ground to give a second fire. Thus does the battle continue until one party is so much weakened, as to be incapable of further resistance: But if the force on each side continues nearly equal, the fierce spirits of the savages, inflamed by the loss of their friends, can no longer be restrained. They rush upon one another with clubs and hatchets in their hands, magnifying their own courage, and insulting their enemies with the bitterest reproaches. They trample and insult over the dead bodies, tearing the scalp from the head, wallowing in their blood like wild beasts, and sometimes devouring their flesh. The flame rages on till it meets with no resistance, then the prisoners are secured, those unhappy men, whose fate is a thousand times more dreadful than theirs who have died in the field. The conquerors set up a hideous howling to lament the friends they have lost. They approach in a melancholy and severe gloom to their own village, a messenger is sent to announce their arrival, and the women with frightful shrieks come out to mourn their dead brothers, or their husbands. When they are arrived, the chief relates in a low voice to the elders a circumstantial account of every particular of the expedition. The orator proclaims aloud this account to the people, and as he mentions the names of those who have fallen, the shrieks of the women are redoubled. The men too join in these cries, according as each is most connected with the deceased, by blood or friendship. The last ceremony is the proclamation of victory; each individual then forgets his private misfortunes,

tunes, and joins in the triumph of his nation; all tears are wiped from their eyes, and by an unaccountable tranſition, they paſs in a moment from the bitterneſs of ſorrow, to an extravagance of joy. But the treatment of the priſoners, whoſe fate all this time remains undecided, is what chiefly characteriſes the ſavages.

Their treatment of priſoners.

The perſon who has taken the captive, attends him to the cottage, where according to the diſtribution made by the elders, he is delivered to ſupply the loſs of a citizen. If thoſe who receive him have their family weakened by war or other accidents, they adopt the captive into the family, of which he becomes a member. But if they have no occaſion for him, or the reſentment for the loſs of their friends be too high to endure the ſight of any connected with thoſe who were concerned in it, they ſentence him to death. All thoſe who have met with the ſame ſevere ſentence being collected, the whole nation is aſſembled at the execution, as for ſome great ſolemnity. A ſcaffold is erected, and the priſoners are tied to the ſtake, where they commence their death ſong, and prepare for the enſuing ſcene of cruelty with the moſt undaunted courage. Their enemies, on the other ſide, are determined to put it to the proof, by the moſt refined and exquiſite tortures. They begin at the extremity of his body, and gradually approach the more vital parts. One plucks out his nails by the roots, one by one; another takes a finger into his mouth, and tears off the fleſh with his teeth; a third thruſts the finger, mangled as it is, into the bowl of a pipe made red hot, which he ſmokes like tobacco; then they pound his fingers and toes to pieces between two ſtones; they pull off the fleſh from the teeth, and cut circles about his joints, and gaſhes in the fleſhy parts of his limbs, which they ſear immediately with red hot irons, cutting, burning, and pinching them alternately; they pull off his fleſh mangled and roaſted, bit by bit, devouring it with greedineſs, and ſmearing their faces with the blood in an enthuſiaſm of horror and fury. When they have thus torn off the fleſh, they twiſt the bare nerves and tendons about an iron, tearing and ſnapping them, whilſt others are employed in pulling and extending the limbs in every way that can increaſe the torment. This continues often five or ſix hours, and ſometimes ſuch is the ſtrength of the ſavages, days together. Then they frequently unbind him, to give a breathing to their fury, to think what new torments they ſhall inflict, and to refreſh the ſtrength of the ſufferer, who, wearied out with ſuch a variety of unheard-of torments, often falls into ſo profound a

ſleep,

ſleep, that they are obliged to apply the fire to awake him and renew his ſufferings. He is again faſtened to the ſtake, and again they renew their cruelty; they ſtick him all over with ſmall matches of wood, that eaſily take fire, but burn ſlowly; they continually run ſharp reeds into every part of his body; they drag out his teeth with pincers, and thruſt out his eyes; and laſtly, after having burned his fleſh from the bones with ſlow fires; after having ſo mangled the body that it is all but one wound; after having mutilated his face in ſuch a manner as to carry nothing human in it; after having peeled the ſkin from his head, and poured a heap of red hot coals, or boiling water, on the naked ſkull, they once more unbind the wretch, who, blind, and ſtaggering with pain and weakneſs, aſſaulted and pelted on every ſide with clubs and ſtones, now up, now down, falling into their fires at every ſtep, runs hither and thither, until one of the chiefs, whether out of compaſſion or weary of cruelty, puts an end to his life with a club or a dagger. The body is then put into a kettle, and this barbarous employment is ſucceeded by a feaſt as barbarous.

The women, forgetting the human as well as the female nature, and transformed into ſomething worſe than furies, act their parts, and even outdo the men in this ſcene of horror, while the principal perſons of the country ſit round the ſtake ſmoaking and looking on without the leaſt emotion. What is moſt extraordinary, the ſufferer, himſelf, in the little intervals of his torments, ſmokes too, appears unconcerned, and converſes with his torturers about indifferent matters. Indeed during the whole time of his execution, there ſeems a conteſt between him and them which ſhall exceed, they in inflicting the moſt horrid pains, or he in enduring them, with a firmneſs and conſtancy almoſt above human: not a groan, not a ſigh, not a diſtortion of countenance eſcapes him; he poſſeſſes his mind entirely in the midſt of his torments; he recounts his own exploits; he informs them what cruelties he has inflicted upon their countrymen, and threatens them with the revenge that will attend his death; and though his reproaches exaſperate them to a perfect madneſs and fury, he continues his inſults even of their ignorance of the art of tormenting, pointing out himſelf more exquiſite methods, and more ſenſible parts of the body to be afflicted. The women have this part of courage as well as the men; and it is as rare for an Indian to behave otherwiſe, as it would be for any European to ſuffer as an Indian.

When any one of the ſociety dies, he is lamented by the whole; and on this occaſion a thouſand ceremonies are practiſed, denoting the moſt lively ſorrow. Of theſe, the moſt remarkable, as it diſcovers both the height and continuance of their grief, is what they call the feaſt of the dead, or the feaſt of ſouls. The day of this ceremony is appointed by public order, and nothing is omitted that it may be celebrated with the utmoſt pomp and magnificence. The neighbouring tribes are invited to be preſent, and to join in the ſolemnity. At this time all thoſe who have died ſince the laſt ſolemn occaſion, (which is renewed every ten years among ſome tribes, and every eight among others) are taken out of their graves; thoſe who have been interred at the greateſt diſtance from the villages are diligently ſought for and brought to this great rendezvous of carcaſſes.

They bring the bodies into their cottages, where they prepare a feaſt in honour of the dead, during which their great actions are celebrated, and all the tender intercourſes which took place between them and their friends are piouſly called to mind. The ſtrangers, who have come ſometimes many hundred miles to be preſent on the occaſion, join in the tender condolance; and the women, by frightful ſhrieks, demonſtrate that they are pierced with the ſharpeſt ſorrow. Then they are carried from the cabbins for the general reinterment. A great pit is dug in the ground, and thither, at a certain time, each perſon attended by his family and friends, marches in ſolemn ſilence, bearing the dead body of a ſon, a father, or a brother. When they are all convened, the dead bodies, or the duſt of thoſe which were quite corrupted, are depoſited in the pit: then their grief breaks out anew. Whatever they poſſeſs moſt valuable is interred with the dead. The ſtrangers are not wanting in their generoſity, and confer thoſe preſents which they have brought along with them for the purpoſe. Then all preſent go down into the pit, and every one takes a little of the earth, which they afterwards preſerve with the moſt religious care. The bodies, ranged in order, are covered with new furze, and over theſe with bark, on which they throw ſtones, wood, and earth. Then taking their laſt farewell, they return each to his own cabbin.

Areſkoui, or the god of battle is revered as the great god of the Indians. Him they invoke before they go into the field, and according as his diſpoſition is more or leſs favourable to them, they conclude they will be more or leſs ſucceſsful. Some nations worſhip the ſun and moon; among others

others there are a number of traditions, relative to the creation of the world, and the hiſtory of the gods: traditions which reſemble the Grecian fables, but which are ſtill more abſurd and inconſiſtent. But except when they have ſome immediate occaſion for the aſſiſtance of their gods, they pay them no ſort of worſhip. Like all rude nations, however, they are ſtrongly addicted to ſuperſtition. They believe in the exiſtence of a number of good and bad genii or ſpirits, who interfere in the affairs of mortals, and produce all our happineſs or miſery. It is from the evil genii in particular, that our diſeaſes proceed; and it is to the good genii we are indebted for a cure. The miniſters of the genii are the juglers, who are alſo the only phyſicians among the ſavages. Theſe jugglers are ſuppoſed to be inſpired by the good genii, moſt commonly in their dreams, with the knowledge of future events; they are called into the aſſiſtance of the ſick, and are ſuppoſed to be informed by the genii whether they will get over the diſeaſe, and in what way they muſt be treated. But theſe ſpirits are extremely ſimple in their ſyſtem of phyſic, and, in almoſt every diſeaſe, direct the juggler to the ſame remedy. The patient is encloſed in a narrow cabbin, in the midſt of which is a ſtone red hot; on this they throw water, until he is well ſoaked with the warm vapour and his own ſweat. Then they hurry him from the bagnio, and plunge him ſuddenly into the next river. This coarſe method, which coſts many their lives, often performs very extraordinary cures. The jugglers have likewiſe the uſe of ſome ſpecifics of wonderful efficacy; and all the ſavages are dextrous in curing wounds by the application of herbs. But the power of theſe remedies is always attributed to the magical ceremonies with which they are adminiſtered.

HISTORY

OF THE

BRITISH SETTLEMENTS

IN

AMERICA.

CHAP. II.

A conciſe view of North America and the Weſt-India Iſlands, from their firſt diſcovery, 'till the ſeeds of the preſent conteſt were ſown, notifying the commercial ſtrength and ſhipping of each of the colonies, as they ſtood in the year 1763.

THE firſt diſcovery made by any of our countrymen, was that already mentioned, by Sebaſtian Cabot, a native of Briſtol; who in 1498 diſcovered that part of North America now known by the name of Hudſon's Bay, and the ſtraits of Davis, from Capt. Hudſon and Davis, who ſailed afterwards to theſe places.

Between the years 1607 and 1611, Mr. Hudſon made four voyages to this part of the world; in the laſt of which, his men forced him and eight more of their officers into a boat, and left them to ſtarve in the bottom of the bay.

Sir Thomas Button purſued the diſcovery in 1612, and capt. James, in 1631, in hopes of finding a North-Weſt paſſage to China. Capt. Gilham ſailed to the bottom of the bay in 1667, and, at his return, his owners procured a patent for planting this country, anno 1670. The Engliſh Governor that went thither was Charles Batley, Eſq; who built a fort on Rupert river, calling it Charles-Fort, and ſoon after ſettled another factory at Nelſon. In the year 1684, the chief Engliſh factory was at Albany, and a fort erected for its defence.

The French invaded our ſettlements, and took Fort Rupert and Albany in July 1686, though we were then at peace with France. In King William's war, anno 1693, the Engliſh recovered their ſettlements again.

During

During the war in Queen Anne's reign, the French reduced all our ſettlements except Albany, but were obliged to reſtore them at the peace of Utrecht, anno 1713; and the company have remained in poſſeſſion of them ever ſince; and by the treaty they were to reſtore to Great Britain, the Bay and Streights of Hudſon, with all the lands, ſeas, ſea-coaſts, rivers, and places, ſituated on the ſame bay and ſtreights, (which comprehend all New Britain and Britiſh Canada) and it was agreed, that commiſſioners, on the part of Great Britain and France, ſhould terminate, within the ſpace of a year, the limits between the dominions of Great Britain and France on that ſide; which limits the ſubjects of Great Britain and France were not to paſs over to each other by ſea or land.

It is not with certainty known what Europeans firſt viſited the country of Canada, the diſcovery being claimed by both Spaniards and French. However, no permanent ſettlement was made here till about the beginning of the 17th century; when the French having built ſome forts, and being frequently ſupplied with emigrants, they became able to ſupport themſelves and extend their views. As their ſettlements were the firſt to the Northward of what was then called New England, they gradually ſpread themſelves round the bay of St Lawrence, and along both ſides of the river, uſurped the country called Nova Scotia, built a town, called Port Royal, in the bay of Fundy, and from thence, about the year 1680, ſupported the Indians of New England, in their wars with the Engliſh; for which they were, in 1690, ſtripped of their poſſeſſions in the bay of Fundy by the people of New England, under the command of Sir William Phipps, their governor; who alſo twice attempted the reduction of Quebec, but failed by being too late in the ſeaſon. However, during the wars of King William, the French and Indians gained many advantages over the Engliſh, having recovered Port Royal and the other countries they had formerly uſurped. In the wars of Queen Anne, Port Royal was again retaken, and called Annapolis; and an expedition was ſet on foot againſt Quebec. The fleet from Old England was under admiral Walker, with a body of troops under general Hill, who were to approach the place by the river of St Lawrence, while general Nicholſon, with the New England forces, were to attack Montreal, and ſo divide the French force. This expedition alſo failed; and the peace of Utrecht following ſoon after, the French relinquiſhed Nova Scotia, the bay of Fundy, and other places.

Then

Then they applied themſelves to extend their ſettlements about the lakes, and meet thoſe making about the Miſſiſippi; and alſo built and fortified the town of Louiſburg on the iſland of Cape Breton, which gave them the command of the gulph of St Lawrence, and greatly diſturbed the New England trade. This town was taken, in 1745, by the New England men, and reſtored to the French in 1748. It was finally taken in 1758; and, in the following year, the Engliſh army, under general Wolfe, having beat the French under Montcalm, in the neighbourhood of Quebec, where both generals fell, that town, and all its dependencies, fell to the Engliſh; and, by the treaty of 1763, was confirmed to them, and the French government thereby annihilated in North America.

Since the above period, we may rank the Engliſh poſſeſſions in North America, under the heads of the following colonies, *viz.* Hudſon's Bay, Labrador, Newfoundland, Canada, Nova-Scotia, New-England, (including Maſſachuſſets Bay, Rhode-iſland, Connecticut, and New-Hampſhire, originally one colony, and though now under ſeparate juriſdictions, are ſtill conſidered as ſuch;) New-York, New-Jerſey, Penſylvania, Virginia, and Maryland, North-Carolina, South-Carolina, Georgia, Eaſt and Weſt Florida: To theſe colonies may be added all thoſe iſlands, which goes under the general name of the Weſt-Indies, *viz.* Jamaica, Anguilla, Berbuda, St Chriſtopher's, Nevis, Antigua, Montſerrat, Dominica, St Vincent, Barbadoes, Tobago, and Granada, and the Grenadines, or Grenadillos; alſo the Bermudas, or Summer iſlands; the Bahama, or Lucayan iſlands, in the Atlantic ocean. Of theſe, Dominica, St Vincent, Tobago, and Granada, were ceded by France to Great-Britain, by the definitive treaty of 1763.

The chief commodities exported from G. B. to thoſe colonies and Weſt-Indian iſlands, are wrought iron, ſteel, copper, pewter, lead, and braſs, cordage, hemp, ſail-cloth, ſhip-chandlery, painters colours, millinery, hoſiery, haberdaſhery, gloves, hats, broad-cloths, ſtuffs, flannels, Coclheſter bays, long ell ſilks, gold and ſilver lace, Mancheſter goods, Britiſh, foreign, and Iriſh linens, earthen-wares, grind-ſtones, Birmingham and Sheffield wares, toys, ſadlery, cabinet wares, ſeeds, cheeſe, ſtrong beer, ſmoaking pipes, ſnuffs, wines, ſpirits, and drugs, Eaſt-India goods, books, paper, leather, beſides many other articles, according to the different wants and exigencies of the different colonies, impoſſible to be enumerated here. In return we receive tobacco, rice, flour, biſcuit, wheat, beans, peas, oats, Indian-corn, and other grain;

grain; honey, apples, cyder, and onions; ſalt-beef, pork, hams, bacon, veniſon, tongues, figs and raiſins, prodigious quantities of cod, mackarel, and other fiſh, and fiſh-oil; furs and ſkins of wild beaſts, ſuch as bear, beaver, otter, furr, deer, and racoon, horſes, and live ſtock; timber planks, maſts, boards, ſtaves, ſhingles, pitch, tar, and turpentine; ſhips built for ſale; flax, flax-ſeed, and cotton; indigo, potaſh, bees-wax, tallow, copper-ore, and iron in bars and in pigs; beſides many other commodities peculiar to the climes and ſoil of the different provinces and iſles. As to thoſe, which have been acquired by the laſt general peace, they are certainly very improveable, nor can we form any judgment of them, in their preſent infantine unſettled ſtate. As we propoſe making the war now ſubſiſting between the colonies and us, the ſubject of the ſecond part of this work, it is conſidered at preſent ſufficient to exhibite a ſtate of the trade of America, as it exiſted when the differences firſt took place, marking at the ſame time the commercial ſtrength and ſhipping of the colonies.

Colonies.	*Ships.*	*Seamen.*	*Exports from G. Britain.*	*Exp. from the Colonies.*
Hudſon's Bay	4	130	*L.* 16,000	*L.* 29,340
Labrador, American veſſels 120				49,050
Newfoundland (3000 boats)	380	20,560	273,400	345,000
Canada	34	400	105,000	105,500
Nova-Scotia	6	72	26,500	38,000
New-England	46	552	395,000	370,500
Rhode Iſland, Connecticut, and New Hampſhire.	3	36	12,000	114,500
New-York	30	330	531,000	526,000
Penſylvania	35	390	611,000	705,500
Virginia and Maryland	330	3,960	865,000	1,040,000
North Carolina	34	408	18,000	68,350
South Carolina	140	1,680	365,000	395,666
Georgia	24	240	49,000	74,200
Eaſt Florida	2	24	7,000	
Weſt ditto	10	120	97,000	63,000
	1,078	28,910	3,730,900	3,924,606

REVO-

REVOLUTIONS AND MEMORABLE EVENTS.

CHAP. III.

A ſhort narative of the memorable events and revolutions of the Britiſh colonies in North America, from the days of Queen Elizabeth to the preſent time, enumerating their different charters and grants, and ſhewing when executed, to whom, and for what purpoſe.

WHEN the Europeans firſt viſited New-England, they found it inhabited by twenty different nations or tribes independent of each other, and commanded by their reſpective chiefs. Of theſe nations, the moſt powerful was the Maſſachuſets, ſituated on or near Boſton harbour.—— The North-Eaſt part of the continent of America was firſt diſcovered by Sebaſtian Cabot, a native of Briſtol. In the year 1497, he diſcovered all the coaſt, from Cape Florida, in 25 degrees of North latitude, to 67 and an half; from whence England claimed a right to Virginia, prior to the Spaniard,, or any other European power.

Grants to Sir Walter Raleigh and others.

Queen Elizabeth having equipped ſeveral ſquadrons, under the command of thoſe celebrated commanders Drake, Hawkins, and Raleigh, to cruize upon the Spaniſh coaſts and iſlands in America, they brought home ſuch favourable accounts of the riches and fertility of Florida, that a great many enterprizing gentlemen appeared very zealous of making ſettlements in that part of the world, and choſe Mr. Raleigh, afterwards Sir Walter, to conduct the enterpriſe, who obtained a patent or grant from Queen Elizabeth, in the year 1584, of all ſuch lands as he ſhould diſcover in North-America, between 33 and 40 degrees of North latitude

nde, and to diſpoſe of them in fee-ſimple, or otherwiſe, to ny of the ſubjects of England, reſerving to the crown a ifth part of all the gold and ſilver ore that ſhould be acquired in ſuch countries, paying the ſaid fifth part to the crown in lieu of all ſervices.

Whereupon Mr. Raleigh formed a ſociety among his friends, who contributed large ſums, and provided two ſhips to go upon the diſcovery, the command having been given to capt. Philip Amidas and capt. Arthur Barlow, who ſet ſail from England on the 20th of April 1584, and arrived at the iſland of Wokoken, on the coaſt of Carolina, in 34 degrees odd minutes, North latitude. They viſited another iſland a little to the Northward, called Roanoak; and ſome of the officers went over to the neighbouring continent, where they were hoſpitably entertained by Wingina, the king of that part of the country; however, they returned to the iſland of Wokoken before night, where they bartered ſome utenſils of braſs and pewter, axes, hatchets, and knives, with the natives, for ſkins and furrs; and, having diſpoſed of all their goods, and loaded their ſhips with ſkins, ſaſſafras, and cedar, and procured ſome pearls and tobacco, they parted with the natives in a very friendly manner, returning to England with two Indians, who deſired to come along with them. The tobacco brought home by theſe adventurers, being the firſt that was ever ſeen in England, was then extolled as a moſt valuable plant, and a remedy for almoſt every diſeaſe.

Theſe 2 ſhips having made a profitable voyage, and it being reported that the country was immenſely rich, Mr. Raleigh and his friends fitted out a fleet of ſeven ſhips more, giving the command of it to Sir Rich. Grenville, who ſet ſail from Plymouth the 9th of April 1585, and arrived at the iſland of Wokoken the 26th of June following, where the admiral's ſhip was caſt away going into the harbour; but he and all the crew were ſaved. The Admiral afterwards conducted the adventurers to the iſland of Roanoak, from whence he went over to the continent, and took a view of the country: but one of the natives ſtealing a ſilver cup, he took a ſevere revenge, burnt and plundered an Indian town, with all the corn growing in the fields, and leaving 108 men on the iſland of Roanoak, under the command of Mr. Ralph Lane, directed him to make further diſcoveries, and then ſet ſail for England, promiſing to return with ſuch reinforcements as ſhould enable him to ſubdue the neighbouring continent: but Mr. Lane marching to the Weſt, found the country deſtroyed

ſtroyed before him as he advanced; and it was with great difficulty that he made his retreat to Roanoak again. And here the colony was in great danger of ſtarving, if Admiral Drake had not taken them up as he was returning from a cruize, and brought them to England.

Sir Walter ſent over ſeveral other little embarkations; but, neglecting to ſupport them, all of them periſhed.

James I. 1606. No farther attempts were made to fix the colonies either in Carolina or Virginia, until the beginning of the reign of James I. who, by his letters patent, dated the 10th of April 1606, authorized Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Summers, Richard Hackluit, Clerk, Prebendary of Weſtminſter, and and other adventurers, to plant the coaſt of Virginia, between 34 and 45 degrees of North latitude; who thereupon fitted out three ſmall ſhips, giving the command of them to captain Chriſtopher Newport, who ſet ſail from the Downs on the 5th of January, 1606-7, and, on the 26th of April, 1607, arrived in the bay of Cheſepeak; and ſailing up the river Powhaten, now James river, they landed on a peninſula about fifty miles up the river, where they built a fort, and afterwards a town, which they called James-town, in honour of King James I. from whom they received their patent. This was the firſt town built by the Engliſh on the continent of America.

There happened ſome ſkirmiſhes between the Engliſh and the natives at their landing; but the Indians, apprehending they ſhould not be able to maintain their ground againſt a people furniſhed with fire-arms, pretended to be reconciled, waiting however for an opportunity of falling upon theſe ſtrangers, when they ſhould meet with an advantage. The fort being finiſhed, Capt. Newport, on the 22d of June, 1607, returned to England, leaving 104 men in the new ſettlement.

The garriſon, ſoon finding themſelves in want of proviſions, and the natives refuſing to furniſh them with any, though they offered to give the full value for them, the Engliſh found themſelves under a neceſſity of plundering the country; upon which an open war commenced between them and the natives; however, freſh ſupplies and reinforcements coming over, commanded by Lord Delawar, the Indians were glad to enter into a treaty of peace, during which the Engliſh, finding a great demand for tobacco in Europe, began to encourage the planting of it, in which they ſucceeded beyond their expectations; and at the ſame time Sir G. Yardley, the governor, eſtabliſhed a government reſembling

reſembling that of England, and the firſt general aſſembly or parliament met at James-town, in May, 1620; and negroes were firſt imported into Virginia the ſame year.

The Plymouth patent purchaſed by Diſſenters; a colony erected, 1621.

About the year 1619, ſome diſſenters of the independent perſuaſion, who were uneaſy at their being required to conform to the church of England, having purchaſed the Plymouth patent, and obtained another from King James to ſend colonies to North Virginia, now New-England, embarked 150 men on board a ſhip, which ſailed from Plymouth the 6th of September 1620, and arrived at Cape-Cod in New-England on the 9th of November following, where they built a town, and called it by the name of New Plymouth; and Mr. John Carver was elected their governor.

This company enters into an alliance with ſeveral Indian nations.

The Indians were, at this time, too much engaged in wars among themſelves, to give theſe ſtrangers any diſturbance; and Maſſaſſoit, prince of the Maſſachuſet nation, learning from one Quanto, an Indian who had been carried to England, what a powerful people the Engliſh were, made governor Carver a viſit the following ſpring, and entered into an alliance, offenſive and defenſive, with the Engliſh, by whoſe aſſiſtance he hoped to make a conqueſt of the Narraganſet nation, with which he was then at war. This prince alſo conſented to acknowledge the king of England his ſovereign, and made a ceſſion of part of his country to the new planters. Several other Sachems, or Princes, alſo followed the example of Maſſaſſoit, and deſired the protection of the Engliſh againſt their enemies, profeſſing themſelves ſubjects of king James.

Difference on religion, weakens and divides this colony.

Ships arriving every day almoſt with planters and proviſions, the colony ſoon became well eſtabliſhed; when differences aroſe among the planters, upon account of religion. The independents, who were the moſt numerous, not allowing a toleration to any other ſect or perſuaſion, ſeveral of the adventurers removed to other parts of the country, and others returned home, whereby the colony was ſo weakened, that, if the Indians had not been engaged in a civil war, the Engliſh would infallibly have been driven out of the country.

In the mean time, another ſet of adventurers, anno 1627, purchaſed a grant of the Plymouth company, of all that part of New England, which lies between the river Merimac and Charles river; and to ſtrengthen their title to this country, procured a grant of it from King Charles, anno 1628, and nominated Mr. Craddock their firſt governor.

The Quakers plant other colonies.

Another ſet of adventurers planted New Hampſhire, and others Providence and Rhode-Iſland, the laſt being chiefly quakers, driven out of Maſſachuſet colony by the independents,

dents, who had long perſecuted them, and actually hanged ſome of the quakers for not conforming to their ſect.

Thus all the New-England provinces were planted and well-peopled within the ſpace of twenty years, reckoning from the arrival of the firſt colony at New Plymouth, during which time they were very little interrupted by the Indians; but the Engliſh colony of Connecticut beginning to erect fortreſſes, and extend their ſettlements to the Weſtward, without the leave of the natives, the Indians were alarmed, apprehending they ſhould in time be diſpoſſeſſed of their country, and be enſlaved by theſe foreigners.

The Indians are alarmed at the encroachments of their new allies.

The Sachem Metacoment therefore (to whom the Engliſh gave the name of Philip) the ſon of Maſſaſſoit, who firſt entered into an alliance with the Engliſh, obſerving the danger his country was in, and that the Engliſh now no longer acted as allies, but tyrannized over his people, and had in a manner deprived him of his authority, diſpatched meſſengers privately through all the tribes of the Indians, inviting them to take up arms in defence of their country, which they did, and ſucceeded in ſeveral engagements at firſt, but their prince Philip being killed by a muſket-ſhot, the Engliſh at length prevailed. Great numbers of the Indians were maſſacred, and others were driven out of their country, and joined the French in Canada, who promiſed them aid and protection. Force now proving ineffectual, and looking upon themſelves as a conquered people, the Indians entered into a conſpiracy to maſſacre all the Engliſh, on the 22d of March, 1622, about noon, when the Engliſh were abroad at work on their plantations, without arms; and they actually murdered 347 of the Engliſh, moſt of them being killed by their own working-tools: but an Indian, who had been well uſed by his maſter, diſcloſing the deſign to him a little before this execution, he gave notice to the reſt of the planters, who ſtood upon their defence, and not only ſaved their own lives, but cut off great numbers of the Indians.

The planters, not long after, falling out among themſelves, the Indians took an advantage of their diviſions, and made another attempt to recover their country, killing great numbers of the Engliſh by ſurpriſe.

The company of Virginia diſſolved.

Theſe misfortunes being aſcribed to the mal-adminiſtration of the company, King Charles I. diſſolved them in the year 1626, and reduced the government of Virginia under his own immediate direction, appointing the government and council himſelf, ordering all patents and proceſſes to iſſue in the king's name, reſerving a quit-rent of two ſhillings for

every

every hundred acres of land. The planters, however, falling into factions and parties again, the Indians made a third effort to recover their loſt liberties, and cut off near 500 more of the Engliſh; but they were at length repulſed, and their king Oppaconcanough taken priſoner, and killed by a private ſoldier, very much againſt the will of Sir William Berkley, the then governor, who deſigned to have brought him over into England, being a man of extraordinary ſtature, and uncommon parts.

Sir William afterwards made peace with the Indians, which continued a conſiderable time; but, the civil war commencing in England, he was removed from his government during the uſurpation, when an ordinance of parliament was made, prohibiting the plantations to receive or export any goods but in Engliſh ſhips; which gave birth to the act of navigation in the reign of King Charles II, who reinſtated Sir William Berkley in his government at the reſtoration. The act of navigation.

Sir William promoted the manufactures of ſilk and linen in this plantation, and was eſteemed an excellent governor; but the act of navigation reſtraining the planters from ſending their merchandize to foreign countries, and from receiving cloathing, furniture, or ſupplies from any nation but England, creating a deal of diſcontent, Mr. Bacon, a popular factious gentleman, took the advantage of their diſaffection, and, ſetting up for himſelf, drew the people into rebellion, depoſed the governor, and compelled him to fly to the Eaſtern ſhore of the bay of Cheſepeak; and, had not Bacon died in good time, he had probably made himſelf Sovereign of Virginia; but, upon his death, Sir William returned to his government, and the people to their duty.

The province of New-York, which was ſold to the Dutch, about the year 1608, by a private contract with captain Hudſon, its diſcoverer, was by the Dutch, called Nova Belgia. They cleared ſome parts, built ſome towns about the mouths of the rivers, and formed ſome ſettlements within land; and, about the year 1637, had ſpread themſelves to the Northward of what is now called Jerſey, and encroached on the lands which had been ſettled for ſome years by a colony of Swedes, who had built the towns of Chriſtiana, Elſingburg, and Gottenburg. But as this coaſt had been been firſt diſcovered by Cabot, for king Henry VII. it was reclaimed by king Charles II.; who in the year 1664, ſent a force which took poſſeſſion of it for the duke of York, to whom it had been granted by the king, his brother; and New-York becomes a royal government

therefore

therefore the country was called New York. The part poſſeſſed by the Swedes was granted by the duke of York to Lord Berkley and Sir George Carteret, whoſe families being of the iſle of Jerſey, they called it New Jerſey; one having the Eaſt part, and the other the Weſt part. Such of the Swedes and Dutch as choſe to ſtay, and become ſubjects to England, and tenants to the proprietors, were permitted to enjoy the fruits of their labour; and the Dutch who departed had the liberty of retiring to Surinam, which country the Engliſh had ceded to the Dutch by way of exchange. On the duke of York's acceſſion to the throne, New York fell to the crown, and became a royal government. And in 1702 the proprietors of the Jerſeys ſurrendering the country to the queen, it became alſo a royal government.

The duke of York afterwards parcelled out theſe countries to under-proprietors, among whom William Penn, ſon of Sir William Penn, admiral in the Dutch wars, was one.

All the reſt of the under-proprietors, ſome time after, ſurrendered their charters to the crown, whereby New York and the Jerſeys became royal governments; but Penn retained that part of the country which had been granted to him. and king Charles II. made him another grant, in 1680, of the reſt of that country, which now conſtitutes the reſt of Penſylvania, in conſideration of a debt due to his father, the admiral, from the government. Penn, the ſon, afterwards united the countries he poſſeſſed by both grants, into one, giving them the name of Penſylvania, and began to plant them in the year 1681. The Dutch and Swediſh inhabitants chuſing ſtill to reſide in this country, as they did in New-York and the Jerſeys, they and their deſcendants enjoy the ſame privileges as the reſt of his majeſty's ſubjects in theſe plantations do, and are now in a manner the ſame people with the Engliſh, ſpeaking their language, and governed by their laws and cuſtoms.

Mr. Penn, however, notwithſtanding the grants made him by the crown and the duke of York, did not eſteem himſelf the real proprietor of the lands granted him, until he had given the Indians valuable conſiderations (or what they eſteemed ſuch) for their country: he therefore aſſembled their Sachems or Princes, and purchaſed countries of a very large extent of them, for a very moderate price, as they made ſcarce any other uſe of their country than hunt in it. He paid them for it in clothes, tools, and utenſils, to the entire ſatisfaction of the natives, who ſtill retained more lands than they could poſſibly uſe, being very few in number.

Mary land

Maryland was discovered in the year 1606, when Virginia was first planted, and, for some time, was esteemed a part of Virginia, until Charles I. in the year 1632, granted all that part of Virginia, which lay North of Patowmac river, and was not then planted, to the right honourable Cecilius Calvert, Lord Baltimore of the kingdom of Ireland, and to his heirs; which was afterwards named Maryland, in honour of the then consort Henrietta Maria, youngest daughter of the French king Henry IV. The Lord Baltimore sent over his brother, the hon. Leonard Calvert, Esq; with several Roman Catholic gentlemen, and other adventurers, to the number of 200, who arrived in the bay of Chesepeak in the year 1633, and planted the first colony near the mouth of Patowmac river, and advancing to the Indian town of Yoamaco, they were permitted to reside in one part of the town, in consideration of some presents they made to the Weroance, or prince of the country, who left them in possession of the whole town as soon as this people had got in their harvest; whereupon Mr. Calvert gave the town the name of St. Mary's: but what principally induced the Weroance to be so exceedingly civil to the English was his being at war with the Susquehannah Indians, and expecting to be protected by the English against that potent enemy, who had very near driven him out of his country. And such was the good understanding between the Yoamaco Indians and this colony, that, while the English were planting the country, the Indians hunted for them in the woods, and brought them in great quantities of venison and wild fowl; and many Roman Catholic families coming over from England to avoid the penal laws, this soon became a flourishing colony, of which the Calverts remained governors until the civil wars in England, when the family were deprived of the government of this province, but recovered it again on the restoration of King Charles II. And the hon. Charles Calvert, son of the Lord Baltimore, remained governor of that Colony near 20 years, who promoted the planting of tobacco here, till the colony became almost as considerable for that branch of business as Virginia; and the family still remain proprietors of this plantation, being one of the most considerable estates enjoyed by any subject of Great Britain abroad.

Grants made to L. Baltimore, and several Roman Catholics of Ireland

Carolina was the last country in America planted by the English, after Sir Walter Raleigh's unfortunate attempts to fix colonies in Carolina, in the latter end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. This country seems to have been entirely overlooked

Carolina.

overlooked till the reſtoration of King Charles II. The then miniſtry, being informed that Carolina would produce wine, oil, and ſilk, and almoſt every thing that Britain wanted, procured a patent or grant from King Charles to themſelves, dated the 24h of March 1663, of great part of this coaſt; the grantees being Edward Earl of Clarendon, Lord Chancellor; George Duke of Albemarle, the general; William Lord Craven, John Lord Berkely, the Lord Anthony Aſhley Cooper, Sir George Carteret, Sir William Colleton, and their heirs. Theſe proprietors, however, did little towards planting it, until the year 1670, when Lord Aſhley ſtruck out a whimſical kind of government for the colony, creating a Palatine or Sovereign, with a council to be a check upon him; which involved them in perpetual quarrels, and almoſt deſtroyed the plantation as ſoon as it was ſettled; to prevent which, they were at length obliged to ſell their ſhares to the crown; and it is now a royal government, only Earl Granville thought fit to retain his ſeventh ſhare, which his family ſtill remains in poſſeſſion of.

The Carolinas being frequently invaded and harraſſed by the French and Spaniſh Indians, the Engliſh found it neceſſary to extend their plantations farther South, and added that province denominated Georgia, contiguous to the Carolinas; and truſtees were appointed to fortify that frontier againſt the incurſions of the Indians, who accordingly built towns, and erected fronts on or near the banks of the rivers Savannah and Alatamaha, in order to cover theſe provinces againſt any hoſtile attempts on that ſide, for here only they were liable to be attacked. As to the reſt, the Apalachian mountains cover the two Carolinas from any invaſion from the Weſt.

General Oglethorpe commanded the firſt embarkation for Georgia, to whom the Creek nation voluntarily relinquiſhed their right to all the country South of the river Savannah, the Northern limits of this new province of Georgia; and articles of commerce were ſettled between the Engliſh and Creeks. There were ſome attempts made the laſt war to add the Spaniſh port of St. Auguſtine to the province of Georgia; and had not General Oglethorpe been betrayed, he had probably reduced that fortreſs; but not being able to confide in his people, he found it neceſſary to retire from thence; and the Spaniards not long after returned the viſit, and invaded Georgia, which was ſo well defended by Mr. Oglethorpe, that the Spaniards were beaten off; however, till the laſt treaty of peace, they always inſiſted that the province

province of Georgia, or part of it, belonged to the crown of Spain.

The Spaniards poſſeſſed themſelves of Florida immediately after their conqueſt of Mexico, under which name they comprehended all thoſe countries which lye North of the gulph of Mexico, of which Carolina and the reſt of the Britiſh plantations are part; but, the Spaniards abandoning part of this country for richer ſettlements in Mexico and Peru, the Engliſh planted moſt of the Eaſtern coaſt, now ſtiled Britiſh America, the Spaniards retaining only St. Auguſtin, and two or three other ſmall places Eaſt of the river Miſſiſippi, and what lyes Weſt of that river; and thus the country ſituated between the Engliſh plantations on the Eaſt, and the Spaniſh territories in the Weſt, remained under the dominion of the Florida Indians, until the year 1718, when the French took poſſeſſion of the river Miſſiſippi, and erected ſome forts, by virtue whereof they laid claim to the greateſt part of Florida, incroaching on the Spaniſh territories on the Weſt, and the Engliſh dominions on the Eaſt. They did, indeed, once before erect ſome forts on the Spaniſh ſide of the river Miſſiſippi; but the Spaniards demoliſhed them, and drove the French out of the country; but ſince France and Spain have been ſo cloſely united, the Spaniards ſeem to wink at their incroachments; but the Engliſh who have ever looked upon this country, as far Weſtward as the river Miſſiſippi, to belong to the colonies of the Carolinas and Georgia, or at leaſt to their Indian allies the Creeks or Cherokees, thought they had very good reaſon to diſpute this part of Florida with the French, theſe Indians having ceded to the Engliſh all this country which they do not chuſe themſelves; and it muſt be admitted that the natives only can give the Europeans a juſt title to it. On this claim, Great Britain, in 1754, diſputed her right with France, from which conteſt proceeded the late French war.

THE HISTORY Of the CIVIL WAR in AMERICA.

PART II.

CHAP I.

A ſhort View of the Queſtion in diſpute, relative to the Colonies; with the origin of the preſent, unhappy civil conteſt.

American taxation, the Cauſe of debate.

THE Great Queſtion which originally cauſed the fatal difference betwixt *Britain* and *America*, was, whether the Engliſh Houſe of Commons poſſeſſed a right of taxing the Colonies, or not: I ſay the Houſe of Commons, becauſe it is to that branch of the legiſlature the diſpoſal of property particularly belongs.

To form a juſt idea of this diſpute, (which hath unhappily terminated in a Civil War) it muſt be premiſed, government very early contended, that the Americans were as fully repreſented, as a great part of the people in England, therefore had no reaſon to complain at being made as totally ſubject to the Britiſh legiſlature, as Non-Electors in Britain.

G. Britains' plea for taxing the Coloniſts.

It was alſo ſaid, that admitting the Americans were not directly repreſented, or even virtually ſo in the Engliſh houſe; yet, as they voluntarily forfeited that priviledge at their emigration, they ſtill could not complain of any grievance in being excluded a ſhare in the government, having not a claim thereto; which being the caſe, the provincial aſſemblies could poſſeſs no real power but what is derived from, and remains under the abſolute command of Great Britain.

The conſtitutional government of America, therefore, is, in one of the greateſt points, viz. That of Taxation, a new caſe in Politicks. But, upon the above pretences, the Britiſh

tiſh legiſlature, ſince 1763, hath laid various internal taxes on the Colonies, againſt the opinion of the principal aſſemblies, who had hitherto taken a part in the diſpoſal of their own money. Their remonſtrances againſt Engliſh proceedings, were termed ſeditious, and an army was ſent over to compel them to obedience. 1754.

But if the Britiſh parliament had ſucceeded in the attempt of exerciſing an unlimitted power of taxation in the Colonies, the root of American freedom would have been deſtroyed; the main pillar of the Engliſh conſtitution, as far as it relates to the Coloniſts, would have been thrown down: And was there not, a moſt glaring abſurdity in attempting to exclude three millions of free ſubjects from the leaſt ſhare in the diſpoſal of their own property.

Having briefly thrown out theſe particulars, let us next conſider the form of government early eſtabliſhed in the older Colonies; which being agreeable to Charter rights, had the aſſent of both parties.

Form of Government in America.

This form conſiſted of an upper and lower houſe of Repreſentatives, with a governor appointed by the crown, (his ſalary was paid by the people) ſomewhat reſembling a Lord Lieutenant and parliament in Ireland.) Each houſe of repreſentatives, had the power of making laws relative to the police and management of its own province, but which could only become valid by receiving the royal aſſent, through the governor.

Reſpecting their trade and commerce, the Coloniſts always conſidered themſelves, or under the protection of, and ſubject to Britiſh legiſlation. Yet more fully to trace the cauſe of the preſent conteſt, it may be obſerved, that the unaſcertained limits of the Engliſh and French territories in North America, induced the latter, in 1754, to incroach on the Britiſh ſettlements, near the mouth of the Miſſiſippi, the French pretending to have been the firſt diſcoverers of the river Ohio, and the adjoining country.

French encroachments, the cauſe of great troubles.

In conſequence of this, they drove off the new ſettlers, and built a fort on the forks of the river Mononghela, called Duqueſne; a ſituation which commanded the entrance into the countries on the Ohio, and Miſſiſippi rivers.

Theſe encroachments made it neceſſary for the Britiſh coloniſts to aſſemble, and adopt meaſures for the general ſafety. To this purpoſe, commiſſioners from many of the Colonies, met at Albany, where it was propoſed, that a Grand Council ſhould be formed of members, to be choſen by the aſſemblies, and ſent from all the different Colonies; which council, together,

Coloniſts aſſemble, and form a plan of defence.

1763. gether, with a general governor to be adopted by the Crown, ſhould be appointed to make laws, in order to promote the common welfare, and to raiſe money in the different provinces for the defence of the whole.

Sent to G. B. for approbation.— Rejected, and another adopted.

This plan was ſent to Great Britain for approbation, but was, by the then Miniſtry rejected, and the following propoſed in its ſtead; viz.—"That governors of different Colonies, attended by one or two of their reſpective councils, ſhould aſſemble and concert meaſures for the general defence; erect forts where they ſhould judge proper, raiſe what troops ſhould be thought neceſſary, with power to draw on the treaſury of England for what ſums might be wanting, but the treaſury to be reimburſed, by a tax on the Colonies, to be laid by an Engliſh act of parliament."

But this plan was reſolutely objected to by the Coloniſts; who, at the ſame time, gave their reaſons reſpecting the impropriety of raiſing money off the provinces, by any act of the Britiſh legiſlature, without their being repreſented in the Engliſh parliament.

The commencement of a war with France, about this period, (on account of encroachments, before-named) prevented Miniſtry from purſuing their taxation plan, and ſuffer'd affairs to remain as formerly: But in 1763, when peace was eſtabliſhed, the diſpute again took place, and the weapons of argument, were ſucceeded by thoſe of war: yet, in ſupport of the claim that had been made, the Engliſh parliament paſſed (that ſource of all our ſorrows) the Stamp Act; whereby it was declared unlawful to draw any bills, or bonds, except on ſtamped paper; and all writings of that ſort, which ſhould be otherwiſe drawn, were declared by this impolitic act, to be null and void.

Stamp Act, 1763.

Let it be obſerved, it was not the revenue which might ariſe from this new law, that raiſed the ferment in the Colonies; but the ſuppoſed illegality of the claim, or eſtabliſhing a precedent, that might lay them open to diſcretionary taxations, by which their properties would be at the diſpoſal of others.

On this baſis, their conteſt at firſt was founded; and, here, I would juſt remark, That the right to a conſtitutional reſiſtance, ſuppoſes no government abſolute, or ultimate; but reſolves all up to the people. But leaving for the preſent, obſervations of this ſort, let us return to the Stamp Act, which ſo alarmed every inhabitant of America, and ſo effectually ſtopped that commercial connection which had hitherto ſubſiſted between them and us, that in the very

† this expreſſion does not warrant an Observation that this history was written by an American

very year following (1766), it was thought neceſſary to be repealed; in conſequence of which, all their former ſources of trade between Great Britain and her Colonies, were again opened, and flowed in abundance as uſual. Notwithſtanding this, in the ſucceeding year to that of the repeal, duties to be paid in America (to the Eaſt India company, as a compenſation for certain encroachments on that body) were impoſed on *tea*, *glaſs*, *paper*, *&c.* which threw the whole continent of America again into convulſions. This act (called the *Tea-act*) ſo effectually kindled their reſentment, that our parliament, in the year 1770, thought proper to repeal three-fourths of this duty, with all the other charges enumerated in the bill, leaving only the ſmall moiety of three-pence per pound behind. 1765. Tea Act. 1767.

This inſignificant duty of three-pence per pound on tea was now doomed to be the *fatal bone of contention* between the mother country and her colonies. We have ſeen that it was then too truly foretold, by thoſe who ſtruggled hard for the repeal of the whole, and who had always declared againſt every idea of an *internal taxation* of America, that the leaving of one duty, and the diſcharge of the others, could anſwer no other purpoſe, than the leſſening of that ſcanty revenue, which was ſcarcely ſufficient, in its full amount, to anſwer the expence of its collection; that by this means, inſtead of profit or benefit, a new charge, to ſupply the deficiency, would be thrown upon the ſtate at home: while all the other evils, which were then acknowledged as the motives for a partial repeal, would be continued in their utmoſt extent. Theſe were the ſtrictures paſſed at home upon the whole ſyſtem of American government.

The conſequent diſcontent and diſorders continued to prevail, in a greater or leſſer degree, through all the old colonies, on the continent. The ſame ſpirit pervaded the whole. Even thoſe colonies which depended moſt upon the mother country for the conſumption of their productions, entered into ſimilar aſſociations with the others; and nothing was to be heard of, but reſolutions for the encouragement of their own manufactures, the conſumption of home products, the diſcouragement of foreign articles, and the retrenchment of all ſuperfluities. But ſtill theſe were only ſymptoms of diſcontent, which had little effect on the trade to the colonies. That trade, which had ſomewhat ſtagnated on the late *non-importation agreement* revived again, and even flouriſhed. The article indeed of tea, was by the reſolutions of ſeveral colonies ſtrictly prohibited; but it ſtill Reſolutions entered into for encouraging their own manufactures. In 1770.

1772. continued to be introduced both from England and other countries, and the duties were paid, though with ſome ſmall appearance of exterior guard and caution.

Diſcontents in the colonies.

In the mean time, the governors of moſt of the colonies, and the people were in a continual ſtate of warfare. Aſſemblies were repeatedly called, and ſuddenly diſſolved. Their time was employed, while ſitting, in reiterating grievances and framing remonſtrances. Other matters ſprang up, beſides the tea duty and the cuſtom-houſes, to increaſe the general diſcontent. The late adopted meaſure, of the governors and judges being paid their ſalaries by the crown, and thereby, as they were removeable at pleaſure, rendered intirely dependent on that, and totally independent of the people, and provincial aſſemblies, however right or neceſſary in the preſent ſtate of affairs, afforded an inexhauſtible ſource of ill-humour and complaint.

Burning of the Gaſpee Schooner *June* 10, 1773.

The greateſt outrage, which was committed in this ſtate of diſorder, happened at PROVIDENCE in Rhode Iſland, where his Majeſty's armed ſchooner, the Gaſpee, having been ſtationed to prevent the ſmuggling, for which that place was notorious, the vigilance of the officer, who commanded the veſſel, ſo enraged the people, that they boarded her at midnight, to the number of two hundred armed men, and after wounding him, and forcing him and his people to go on ſhore, concluded this daring exploit by burning the ſchooner. Though a reward of 500l. together with a pardon, if claimed by an accomplice, was offered by proclamation for the diſcovering and apprehending any of the perſons concerned in this atrocious act, no effectual diſcovery could be made.

Great heats at Boſton, occaſioned by the diſcovery of certain Letters.

An odd incident happened, which ſerved to revive, with double force, all the ill temper and animoſity that had long ſubſiſted between the executive part of government and the people, in the province of Maſſachuſet's Bay. This was the accidental diſcovery, and publication of a number of confidential letters, which had been written during the courſe of the unhappy diſputes with the mother country, by the then governor and deputy-governor of that colony, to perſons in power and office in England. The letters contained a very unfavourable repreſentation of the ſtate of affairs, the temper and diſpoſition of the people, and the views of their leaders, in that province; and tended to ſhew, not only the neceſſity of the moſt coercive meaſures; but that even a very conſiderable change of the conſtitution, and ſyſtem of government, was neceſſary, to ſecure the obedience of the colony.

These letters indeed were in part confidential and private; but the people of the colony insisted, that they were evidently intended to influence the conduct of government, and must therefore be shewn to such persons as had an interest in preserving their privileges. Upon the death of a gentleman in whose possession these letters then happened, they by some means which were not known, fell into the hands of the agent for the colony of Massachuset's Bay, who immediately transmitted them to the assembly of that province, which was then sitting at Boston. The indignation and animosity which these letters excited on the one side, and the confusion on the other, neither need nor admit of description. 1773.

After several violent resolutions in the house of representatives, the letters were presented to the council, under the strictest injunction from the representatives, that the persons, who were to shew them should not by any means suffer them, even for a moment, out of their own immediate hands. This affront to the governor was adopted by the council; and, upon his requiring to examine the letters that were attributed to him, thereby to be enabled, either to acknowledge them if genuine, or to reprobate them if spurious, that board, under the pretence of this restriction, refused to deliver them into his hands; but sent a committee to open them before him, that he might examine the hand-writing. To this indignity he was obliged to submit, as well as to the mortification of acknowledging the signature.

Such a new source of discord was not wanting in that colony. The house of assembly passed a petition and remonstrance to his Majesty, in which they charged their governor and lieutenant-governor with being betrayers of their trusts, and of the people they governed; of giving private, partial, and false information; declared them enemies to the colony, and prayed for justice against them, and for their speedy removal from their places. So wide was the discontent, and so weak the powers of government in that assembly, that these charges with many others, were carried through by a majority of 82 to 12. June 23. Petition for the removal of the governor & lieutenant-govr.

As we have just observed, the article of tea to be continued notwithstanding the strong resolutions of the colonists, to be still imported into America; yet by the advantages which foreigners had in the sale of the low priced teas, as well as the general odium attending the British teas, which, as bearing a parliamentary duty, were considered as instruments of slavery, the East India company was thought to suffer much by the dispute with the colonies.

Thus

1773.

Scheme for the exportation of tea by the E. I. co. to the colonies.

Thus circumſtanced, the miniſter in the laſt ſeſſion, as ſome apparent conſolation to that company for the ſtrong meaſures which were then purſued againſt it by government, brought in a bill, by which they were enabled to export their teas, duty free, to all places whatſoever. In conſequence of this meaſure, the company departed in ſome degree from its eſtabliſhed mode, of diſpoſing of its teas by publick ſales to the merchants and dealers, and adopted the new ſyſtem, of becoming its own exporter and factor. Several ſhips were accordingly freighted with teas for the different colonies by the company, where it alſo appointed agents for the diſpoſal of that commodity.

The ſucceſs of this ſcheme, and any utility to be derived from it, if it did ſucceed, were at the time much queſtioned: ſome active members in that company, and one gentleman of great conſideration amongſt them, remonſtrated againſt it, as rather calculated for the eſtabliſhment of the revenue law in America, than as a favour of ſervice to the company. It is true, that they had then about ſeventeen millions of pounds of tea in their ware-houſes; but though this appeared an immenſe quantity to thoſe who were not verſed in the ſtate of the trade, it was ſaid, in reality to be only equal to about two years uſual conſumption, and it was always intended to have a year's ſtock in hand.

It appears that the company was not itſelf quite ſatisfied as to the utility of this meaſure, and accordingly conſulted ſome of the moſt eminent perſons in the tea trade upon the ſubject. By ſome of the moſt intelligent of theſe it was repreſented, as the wildeſt ſcheme that could be imagined, and the moſt remote from affording the relief which they wanted. That even ſuppoſing it attended with all the ſucceſs of which it was poſſibly capable, the returns would be too ſlow and too precarious, to ſupply in any degree the company's preſent exigencies in point of caſh; that on the other hand it would certainly be offering the greateſt injury to the merchants, who were their eſtabliſhed and never-failing cuſtomers; who purchaſed their teas at all riſks, and paid vaſt ſums of money at ſtated times independent of them. Certain meaſures were alſo propoſed, relative to the holding of two public ſales within given diſtances of time, by which the company would not only diſpoſe of all its teas, but would receive, as they ſuppoſed, by the firſt payment, at the end only of five months, no leſs than 1,200,000l. in caſh: a ſum ſo conſiderable, and to be paid in ſo ſhort a time, that it would probably enable them to refrain from the fatal loan, which they were negociating

ciating with the public. The first measure, being a favourite with government, was adopted, notwithstanding these reasons and proposals. 1773.

If such were the opinions formed upon this scheme at home, it was universally considered in the colonies, as calculated merely to circumvent them into a compliance with the revenue law, and thereby open the door to an unlimited taxation. For it was easily seen, that if the tea was once landed and in the custody of the consignees, no associations, nor other measures, would be sufficient to prevent its sale and consumption; and nobody could pretend to imagine, that when taxation was established in one instance, it would restrain itself in others. Besides that all the dealers both legal and clandestine, who as tea is an article of such general consumption in America, were extremely powerful, saw their trade taken at once out of their hands. They supposed it would all fall into the hands of the company's consignees, to whom they must become in a great measure dependent, if they could hope to trade at all. The East India company by the late regulations was brought intirely under the direction of government. The consignees were of course such as favoured administration, and for that reason the most unpopular people in America. Particularly at Boston, they were of the family and nearest connections of those gentlemen, whose letters as we have observed, had at that time kindled such prodigious heats and animosities among the people. It was at an unlucky time that they thought they saw a monopoly formed in favour of the most obnoxious persons, and that too for the purpose of confirming an odious tax. The same spirit seemed to run like wildfire throughout the colonies, and without any apparent previous concert, it was every where determined, to prevent the landing of the teas at all events.

particular causes which operated in rendering that measure more generally obnoxious.

At the same time, the East India company became so exceedingly odious to the people, that a mere opposition to her interests, abstracted from all other causes, would have embarrassed any measure that was undertaken in her favour. The colonists said, that she was quitting her usual line of conduct, and wantonly becoming the instrument of giving efficacy to a law which they detested: thereby involving them, as they affirmed, in the present dangerous dilemma, either of submission to the establishment of a precedent which they deemed fatal to their liberties, or of bringing matters to a crisis which they dreaded, by adopting the only means that seemed left to prevent its execution.

As

1773. As the time approached when the arrival of the tea ſhips for the execution of the new plan was expected, the people aſſembled at different places in great bodies, and began to take ſuch meaſures as ſeemed moſt effectual to prevent the landing of their cargoes. The tea conſignees, who had been appointed by the E. I. company, were obliged in moſt places (and in ſome, at the peril of Life as well as property) to relinquiſh their appointments, and to enter into public engagements not to act in that capacity. Committees were appointed by the people in different towns and provinces, whom they armed with ſuch powers as they ſuppoſed themſelves enabled to beſtow. They were authorized to inſpect merchants books, to propoſe teſts, to puniſh thoſe whom they conſidered as contumacious, by the dangerous proſecution of declaring them enemies to their country, and of aſſembling the people when they thought neceſſary. In a word, their powers were as indefinite, as the authority under which they acted.

Reſolutions univerſally entered into to prevent the landing of the teas.

Committees appointed.

In the tumultuous aſſemblies which were frequently held upon this occaſion, numberleſs reſolutions were paſſed, extremely derogatory with reſpect to the authority of the ſupreme legiſlature. Inflammatory hand-bills, and other ſeditious papers were continually publiſhed; nor were the conductors of news-papers, nor the writers of various pamphlets, much more guarded in their conduct, or temperate in their manner. Even at Philadelphia, which had been ſo long celebrated, for the excellency of its police and government, and temperate manners of its inhabitants, printed papers were diſperſed, warning the pilots on the river Delaware, not to conduct any of theſe tea ſhips into their harbour, which were only ſent for the purpoſe of enſlaving and poiſoning all the Americans; at the ſame time, giving them plainly to underſtand it was expected, that they would apply their knowledge of the river, under the colour of their profeſſion, in ſuch a manner, as would effectually ſecure their country from ſo imminent a danger. At New-York, in a ſimilar publication, thoſe ſhips are ſaid to be loaden with the fetters which had been forged for them in Great-Britain, and every vengeance is denounced againſt all perſons, who dare in any manner contribute to the introduction of thoſe chains. All the colonies ſeemed to have inſtantly united in this point.

Tumultuous aſſemblies of the people in different colonies.

The town of Boſton, which had been ſo long obnoxious to government, was the ſcene of the firſt outrage. Three ſhips laden with tea, having arrived in that port, the captains were terrified into a conceſſion, that if they were permitted by the conſignees, the board of cuſtoms, and the Fort of Caſtle William,

Three ſhips laden with tea arrive at Boſton,

William, they would return with their cargoes to England. These promiſes could not be fulfilled; the conſignees refuſed to diſcharge the captains from the obligations under which they were chartered for the delivery of their cargoes; the cuſtom-houſe refuſed them clearance for their return:—and the governor to grant them a paſſport for clearing the fort. 1773.

In this ſtate, it was eaſily ſeen by the people of the town, that the ſhips lying ſo near, the teas would be landed by degrees, notwithſtanding any guard they could keep, or meaſures take to prevent it; and it was as well known, that if they were landed, nothing could prevent their being diſpoſed of, and thereby the purpoſe of eſtabliſhing the monopoly, and raiſing a revenue fulfilled. To prevent this dreadful conſequence, a number of armed men, under the diſguiſe of Mohawk Indians, boarded the ſhips, and in a few hours diſcharged the whole cargoes of tea into the ſea, without doing any other damage, or offering any injury to the captains or crews. It was remarkable, that the government, civil power, garriſon of Fort William, and armed ſhips in the harbour, were totally inactive upon this occaſion. Dec. 18. Their cargoes thrown into the ſea.

Some ſmaller quantities of tea, met afterwards with a ſimilar fate, at Boſton, and a few other places; but in general, the commiſſioners for the ſale of that commodity, having been obliged to relinquiſh their employment, and no other perſons daring to receive the cargoes which were conſigned to them, the maſters of the tea veſſels, from theſe circumſtances, as well as from a knowledge of danger, and the determined reſolution of the people, readily complied with the terms which were preſcribed, of returning directly to England, without entangling themſelves by any entry at the cuſtom-houſes. At New-York it was indeed landed under the cannon of a man of war. But the government there were obliged to conſent to its being locked up from uſe. In South Carolina ſome was thrown into the river as at Boſton. Similar outrages in ſome other places; moſt of the tea ſhips obliged to return home with their cargoes, and theentire ſcheme rendered everywhere abortive.

Such was the iſſue of this unfortunate ſcheme. Some diſpoſition to theſe diſturbances was known pretty early; but as their utmoſt extent was ſtill unknown, the meeting of parliament was deferred until after the holidays, the tranſactions of which, with reſpect to American affairs, will more properly come under the head of our ſecond chapter.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

A ſummary account of all the American acts, paſſed in the Britiſh parliament, from January 13, 1774, *to the* 22*d of June following.*

Jan. 13. 1774. Parliament meets.

THE ſpeech from the throne at the opening of this parliament, January 13th 1774, contained nothing very ſtriking. Buſineſs of common occurrences engroſſed the attention of the houſe, until the American diſpatches arrived, March 7, which brought advice of the outrages committed on board the tea ſhips at Boſton. This intelligence occaſioned a meſſage from the throne to both houſes, in which they were informed, that in conſequence of the unwarrantable practices carried on in North America, and particularly of the violent and outrageous proceedings at the town and port of Boſton, with a view of obſtructing the commerce of this kingdom, and upon grounds and pretences immediately ſubverſive of its conſtitution, it was thought fit to lay the whole matter before parliament.

Meſſage relative to the tranſactions in America.

American papers laid before the Houſe.

This meſſage was attended with a great number of papers relating to the late tranſactions in the colonies, containing copies and extracts of letters from the ſeveral governors; from the commander of the forces; from the admiral in Boſton harbour; from the conſignees of the tea at Boſton, to one of the ringleaders of the faction in that town, with votes and reſolves of the town of Boſton, previous to the landing of the tea, and narratives of the tranſactions which ſucceeded that event, &c. &c.——They alſo contained details from the different governors, of all tranſactions relative to the teas, which took place in their reſpective governments, from the firſt intelligence of their being ſhipped in England, to the dates of theſe letters, which were in number 109.

As the ſame ſpirit pervaded the whole continent, ſo the ſame language, ſentiment, and manner, prevailed in all theſe written or printed pieces, whether circulated in the province of Maſſachuſet's, or in the other colonies.

Comments thereon.

The preſentment of the papers was accompanied with a comment upon them, and particularly thoſe that related to the tranſactions at Boſton, in which the conduct of the governor was deſcribed and applauded, and that of the prevailing

vailing faction repreſented in the moſt atrocious light. It was ſaid that he had taken every meaſure which prudence could ſuggeſt, or good policy juſtify, for the ſecurity of the Eaſt-India company's property, the ſafety of the conſignees, and the preſerving of order and quiet in the town. 1774.

That he had it undoubtedly in his power, by calling in the aſſiſtance of the naval force which was in the harbour, to have prevented the deſtruction of the tea; but as the leading men in Boſton had always made great complaints of the interpoſition of the army and navy, and charged all diſturbances of every ſort to their account, he with great prudence and temper, determined from the beginning to decline a meaſure, which would have been ſo irritating to the minds of the people; and might well have hoped, that by this confidence in their conduct, and truſt repoſed in the civil power, he ſhould have calmed their turbulence, and preſerved the public tranquillity. Conduct of the governor applauded.

Thus, ſaid the miniſters, the people of Boſton were fairly tried. They were left to their own conduct, and to the exerciſe of their judgment, and the reſult has given the lie to their former profeſſions. They are now without an excuſe: and all the powers of government within that province, are found inſufficient to prevent the moſt violent outrages.

It was concluded upon the whole, that by an impartial review of the papers now before them, it would manifeſtly appear, that nothing could be done by either civil, military, or naval officers, to effectuate the re-eſtabliſhment of tranquillity and order in that province, without additional parliamentary powers to give efficacy to their proceedings. Reaſons aſſigned for coerſive meaſures,

That it was therefore incumbent on every member to weigh and conſider, with an attention ſuitable to the great importance of the ſubject, the purport of the papers before them, and totally laying all prejudices aſide, to form his opinion upon the meaſures moſt eligible to be purſued, for ſupporting the ſupreme legiſlative authority, the dignity of parliament, and the great intereſts of the Britiſh Empire. This is in ſubſtance what was urged by miniſtry upon the ſubject when they preſented the papers.

The ſpirit now raiſed againſt the Americans became as high and as ſtrong as could be deſired, both within and without the houſe. In this temper a motion was made for an addreſs to the throne, "to return thanks for the meſſage, and the gracious communication of the American papers, with an aſſurance that they would not fail to exert every means in their power, of effectually providing for objects ſo important to the general welfare An addreſs to the Throne.

1774. welfare, as maintaining the due execution of the laws, and securing the juſt dependence of the colonies upon the crown and parliament of Great Britain."

The Miniſter's advantage in this addreſs.

By the voting this addreſs miniſtry gained a greater advantage than at firſt appeared, for they found by the diſpoſition of the houſe which was ſtrongly againſt all retroſpect, that they would confine themſelves to the mere miſbehaviour of the Americans. The violence of the Americans was public and unqueſtioned, and when the enquiry was confined to that ground, it would be eaſy to carry any propoſition againſt them. It was of great conſequence to the miniſter, that no part whatſoever of the weakneſs and diſorderly ſtate of ſo many governments, ſhould be laid to the charge of thoſe who had for ſome years the entire direction of them in their hands.

Petition received from Bollan the agent.

As the ſtorm which was gathering againſt the colonies would probably be directed againſt Maſſachuſet's Bay, Mr. Bollan, agent for the council of that province, thought it neceſſary to preſent to the houſe, by way of precaution, a petition deſiring that he might be permitted to lay before the houſe the *acta regia* of queen Elizabeth and her ſucceſſors, for the ſecurity of the Planters, and their deſcendents, and the perpetual enjoyment of their liberties. Theſe documents he preſumed had never been laid before the houſe, nor had the colonies ever had an opportunity to aſcertain and defend theſe rights. This petition was received without difficulty, and ordered to lie upon the table.

Condition of the Boſton Port Bill.

The miniſter, after having moved that the King's meſſage of the 7th of March ſhould be read, opened his plan for reſtoration of peace, order, juſtice, and commerce in Maſſachuſet's Bay, by propoſing, "that the town of Boſton ſhould "be obliged to pay for the tea which had been deſtroyed in "their port; alſo ſecurity to be given in future, that trade "may be ſafely carried on, property protected, laws obey-"ed, and duties regularly paid. Otherwiſe the puniſhment "of a ſingle illegal act is no reformation." It would be therefore proper to take away from Boſton the privilege of a port until his Majeſty ſhould be ſatisfied in theſe particulars, and publicly declare in council, on a proper certificate of the good behaviour of the town, that he was ſo ſatisfied. —By this Boſton might certainly ſuffer. But ſhe ought to ſuffer and by this reſolution would ſuffer far leſs puniſhment than her delinquencies fully juſtified. For ſhe was not wholly precluded from all ſupply. She was by this propoſition only to be virtually removed ſeventeen miles from the ſea.

+ "You lie. Damn you" +

ſea. The duration of her puniſhment was entirely in her own power. For when ſhe ſhould diſcharge this juſt debt to the E. I. company which had been contracted by her own violence, and given full aſſurances of obedience in future to the laws of trade and revenue; there was no doubt, but that his Majeſty, to whom he propoſed to leave that power, would again open the port, and exerciſe that mercy which was agreeable to his royal diſpoſition; whereupon leave was given to bring in a bill "*for the immediate removal of the "officers concerned in the collection of the cuſtoms from the "town of Boſton in the province of the Maſſachuſet's Bay, in "North America, and to diſcontinue the landing and diſcharg-"ing, lading and ſhipping of goods, wares, and merchandize "at the ſaid town of Boſton, or within the harbour thereof.*" 1774.

Boſton port-bill brought in, Mar. 14,

At the firſt introduction it was received with very general applauſe. The equity of obliging a delinquent town to make ſatisfaction for the diſorders which aroſe from their factious ſpirit, and negligent police, was ſo ſtriking, that many things which might appear exceptionable in the act were overlooked. The cry raiſed againſt the Americans, partly the natural effect of their own acts, and partly of the operations of government, was ſo ſtrong as nearly to overbear the moſt reſolute and determined in the oppoſition. Several of thoſe who had been moſt ſanguine favourers of the colonies now condemned their behaviour; and applauded the meaſure, as not only juſt, but lenient.

But in the progreſs of the bill, oppoſition ſeemed to collect itſelf, and to take a more active part. Mr. Bollan, the agent of the council of Maſſachuſet's Bay, preſented a petition, deſiring to be heard for the ſaid council, and in behalf of himſelf and other inhabitants in the town of Boſton. The houſe refuſed to receive the petition. It was ſaid, that the agent of the council was not agent for the corporation, and no agent could be received from a body corporate, except he were appointed by all the neceſſary conſtituent parts of that body. Beſides, the council was fluctuating, and the body by which he was appointed could not be then actually exiſting. This vote of rejection was heavily cenſured. The oppoſition cried out at the inconſiſtency of the houſe, who but a few days ago received a petition from this very man in this very character; and now, only becauſe they chuſe to exert their power in acts of injuſtice and contradiction, totally refuſe to receive any thing from him, as not duly qualified. Were not the reaſons equally ſtrong againſt receiving the firſt as the ſecond petition? But what, they aſſerted, made

Second Petition from Bollan refuſed.

1774. made this conduct the more unneceſſary and outrageous, was, that at that time the houſe of lords were actually hearing Mr. Bollan on his petition, as a perſon duly qualified, at their bar. Thus, ſaid they, this houſe is at once in contradiction to the other, and to itſelf. As to the reaſons given againſt his qualification, they are equally applicable to all American agents; none of whom are appointed as the miniſter now requires they ſhould be—and thus the houſe cuts off all communication between them and the colonies whom they are affecting by their acts.

The bill paſſed the houſe on the 25th of March, and was carried up to the lords, where it was likewiſe warmly debated, but as in the commons, it paſſed without a diviſion. It received the royal aſſent on the 31ſt of March.

paſſed, Mar. 25.

The diſpoſition to carry things to extremities with America was become very general; and as the repeal of the ſtamp-act was much condemned by the miniſterial ſide, and its authors greatly decried, they repoſed the higheſt confidence in the ſucceſs of meaſures of a contrary nature.

The Boſton port bill formed only one part of the coercive plan propoſed by the miniſtry as the effectual method of bringing her to obedience. Others of a deeper and more extenſive nature were behind, and appeared in due time. Soon after a bill was brought in for "*the better regulating government in the province of Maſſachuſet's Bay.*" The purpoſe of this bill was to alter the conſtitution of that province as it ſtood upon the charter of King William; to take the whole executive power out of the hands of the democratic part, and to veſt the nomination of counſellors, judges, and magiſtrates of all kinds, including Sheriffs, in the crown, and in ſome caſes, in the King's governor, and all to be removeable at the pleaſure of the crown.

April 15, A Bill for the better regulating the government of Maſſachuſet's bay.

This bill paſſed by a prodigious majority, after a debate which laſted with uncommon ſpirit for many hours.

May 2,

The diſpoſition ſo prevalent in both houſes to ſtrong meaſures was highly favourable to the whole miniſterial plan for reducing America to obedience. The good reception of the propoſal for changing the charter government of Maſſachuſet's Bay, encouraged them to propoſe very ſoon after another bill, without which, it was ſaid, that the ſcheme would be entirely defective. In the committee on American papers, it was ordered, that the chairman ſhould move for leave to bring in "*a Bill for the impartial adminiſtration of juſtice in the caſes of perſons queſtioned for any acts done by them in the execution of the laws, or for the ſuppreſſion of riots and tu-*

Maſſachuſet's Bay Bill.

"*mults*

" *mults in the province of Maſſachuſet's Bay in New Eng-* 1774.
" *land.*"

This bill provides, that in caſe any perſon is indicted in that province for murder, or any other capital offence, and that it ſhall appear to the governor, that the fact was committed in the exerciſe or aid of magiſtracy, in ſuppreſſing tumults and riots, and that it ſhall appear to the governor, that a fair trial cannot be had in the province, he ſhall ſend the perſon ſo indicted, &c. to any other colony, or to Great-Britain, to be tried. The charges on both ſides to be borne out of the cuſtoms. This act to continue for four years. proviſion of the bill.

The debate on this bill was even more warm than on the former, and the publications of the time quote an old member who is rarely in oppoſition, as having ended his ſpeech with theſe remarkable words: " I will now take my leave of " the whole plan,—you will commence your ruin from this " day. I am ſorry to ſay, that not only the houſe has fallen " into the error, but the people approve of the meaſure.— " The people, I am ſorry to ſay it, are miſled. But a ſhort " time will prove the evil tendency of this Bill. If ever " there was a nation running headlong to its ruin, it is this."

The bill paſſed the houſe on the ſixth of May, and being carried up to the houſe of peers, occaſioned warm debates upon the ſame principles upon which it was diſcuſſed in the houſe of commons. The lords of the minority entered on this, as on the former bill, a very ſtrong proteſt. paſſed, 6 May.

The ſeſſion was drawing near to the uſual time of receſs; and the greateſt number of the members, fatigued with a long attendance on the American bills, were retired into the country. In this ſituation, a bill which has engaged a great deal of the public attention was brought into the houſe of lords: " *The bill for making more effectual proviſion for the* " *province of Quebec in North America.*" Quebec Bill brought in.

The principal objects of this bill, were to aſcertain the limits of that province, which were extended far beyond what had been ſettled as ſuch by the King's proclamation of 1763. To form a legiſlative council for all the affairs of that province, except taxation, which council ſhould be appointed by the crown, the office to be held during pleaſure; and his majeſty's Canadian Roman catholic ſubjects were entitled to a place in it. To eſtabliſh the French laws, and a trial without jury, in civil caſes, and the Engliſh laws, with a trial by jury, in criminal. To ſecure to the Roman catholic clergy, except the Regulars, the legal enjoyment of their eſtates, and of their tythes from all who are of their property of this bill.

own

1774. own religion. Theſe were the chief objects of the act; but the bill received in the courſe of the debates (which were warm) many amendments, ſo as to change it very greatly from the ſtate in which it came down from the Houſe of Lords; but the ground-work remained the ſame.—It paſſed June 8th without a diviſion.

The ſeſſion had now ſtretched far into the ſummer. The buſineſs of it had been of as much importance as that, perhaps, of any ſeſſion ſince the revolution. Great changes had been made in the œconomy of ſome of the colonies, which were thought foundations for changes of a like nature in others; and the moſt ſanguine expectations were entertained by the miniſtry, that when parliament had ſhewn ſo determined a reſolution, and the advocates for the colonies had appeared ſo very little able to protect them, the ſubmiſſion throughout America would be immediate; and complete obedience and tranquillity would be ſecured in future. The triumphs and mutual congratulations of all who ſupported theſe meaſures within doors and without, were un——22d uſually great. The ſpeech from the throne at the end of the ſeſſion expreſſed ſimilar ſentiments. His Majeſty told the parliament,

"That he had obſerved with the utmoſt ſatisfaction, the many eminent proofs they had given of their zealous and prudent attention to the public, during the courſe of this very intereſting ſeſſion of parliament." Then, after mentioning with applauſe their proceedings relative to the gold coin, "That the bill which they had prepared for the government of Quebec, and to which he had then given his aſſent, was founded on the cleareſt principles of juſtice and humanity; and would, he doubted not, have the beſt effects in quieting the minds and promoting the happineſs of his Canadian ſubjects. That he had long ſeen with concern a dangerous ſpirit of reſiſtance to his government and the execution of the laws prevailing in the province of Maſſachuſett's Bay. It proceeded at length to ſuch an extremity, as to render their immediate interpoſition neceſſary, and they had accordingly made proviſion as well for the ſuppreſſion of the preſent diſorders, as for the prevention of the like in future." And concludes, "With recommending the ſame zeal for the public welfare, which had diſtinguiſhed all their proceedings in this ſeſſion of parliament."

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

View of affairs in the Colonies, in the year 1774; *ſhewing the general effect and operation of the late laws, &c.*

THE penal laws, which we ſaw paſſed, in the laſt ſeſſion of the laſt parliament, relative to the colony of Maſſachuſett's Bay, and which were intended to operate both as a chaſtiſement for paſt, and a preventative of future miſdemeanours in that province, were unfortunately productive of effects very different from thoſe which the ſanguine promoters of thoſe bills had hoped, and which adminiſtration had held out to the nation. Other purpoſes were expected from them beſides puniſhment and prevention. It was expected, that the ſhutting up of the port of Boſton would have been naturally a gratification to the neighbouring towns, from the great benefits which would accrue to them, by the ſplitting and removing of its commerce; and that this would prove a fruitful ſource of jealouſy and diſunion within the province. It was alſo thought, that the particular puniſhment of that province would not only operate as an example of terror to the other colonies, but that from the ſelfiſhneſs and malignity incident to mankind, as well as from their common jealouſies, they would quietly reſign it to its fate, and enjoy with pleaſure any benefits they could derive from its misfortunes. Thus it was hoped, that beſides their direct operation, theſe bills would eventually prove a means of diſſolving that band of union, which ſeemed of late too much to prevail amongſt the colonies. 1774. General effect of the late laws.

The act called the Military Bill, which accompanied theſe laws, and which was formed to ſupport and encourage the ſoldiery in beating down all poſſible reſiſtance to the other acts, it was imagined, would compleat the deſign, and bring the colonies to a perfect ſubmiſſion. In confidence of the perfection of this plan of terrors, puniſhments and regulations, and of the large force by ſea and land (as it was then thought) which was ſent to ſtrengthen the hands of government, adminiſtration repoſed in the moſt perfect ſecurity; and ended the ſeſſion in the moſt triumphant manner, and with the mutual congratulations of all concerned in thoſe acts, which we have deſcribed in our 2d chapter.

1774. The event, in all theſe caſes, was however very different. The neighbouring towns diſdained every idea of profiting in any degree by the misfortunes of their friends in Boſton. The people of the province, inſtead of being ſhaken by the coercive means which were uſed for their ſubjugation, joined the more firmly together to brave the ſtorm; and ſeeing that their ancient conſtitution was deſtroyed, and that it was determined to deprive them of thoſe rights, which they had ever been taught to revere as ſacred, and to deem more valuable than life itſelf, they determined at all events to preſerve them, or to periſh in the common ruin. In the ſame manner, the other colonies, inſtead of abandoning, clung the cloſer to their devoted ſiſter as the danger increaſed; and their affection and ſympathy ſeemed to riſe in proportion to her misfortunes and ſufferings.

In a word, theſe bills, (as had been too truly foretold by their oppoſers at home) inſtead of anſwering the purpoſes for which they were intended, ſpread a general alarm from one end to the other of the continent, and became the cement of a ſtrict and cloſe union between all the old colonies. They ſaid it was now viſible, that charters, grants, and eſtabliſhed uſages, were no longer a protection or defence; that all rights, immunities, and civil ſecurities, muſt vaniſh at the breath of an act of parliament. They were all ſenſible, that they had been guilty, in a greater or leſſer degree, of thoſe unpardonable ſins which had drawn down fire upon Boſton; they believed, that vengeance, tho' delayed, was not remitted: and that all the mercy, the moſt favoured or the leaſt culpable could expect, was to be the laſt that would be devoured.

In the laſt ſeſſion, the miniſter had announced in the Houſe of Commons, the appointment of General Gage to the government of the province of Maſſachuſett's Bay, and to the command in chief of the army in North America. As this gentleman had borne ſeveral commands with reputation in that part of the world; had lived many years there, and had ſufficient opportunities of acquiring a thorough knowledge of the people, and was beſides well approved of by them, great hopes were formed of the happy effects which would have reſulted from his adminiſtration; and it is little to be doubted, if his appointment had been at a happier time, and his government free from the neceſſity of enforcing meaſures which were generally odious to the people, but theſe expectations would have been anſwered.

The

1774.

The jealouſy and ill blood between the governors and governed in the province of Maſſachuſett's Bay, which we in the preceding chapter have taken notice of, had ever ſince continued. The Houſe of Repreſentatives had preſented a petition and remonſtrance to the Governor, early in the ſpring, for the removal of Peter Oliver, Eſq; Chief Juſtice of the Superior Court of Judicature, from his office; this requeſt not being complied with, they exhibited articles of impeachment againſt him, of high crimes and miſdemeanors, in their own name and that of the province, which they carried up to the Council-board, and gave the governor notice to attend as judge upon the trial. The charge againſt the Chief Juſtice was, the betraying of his truſt, and of the chartered rights of the province, by accepting a ſalary from the crown, in conſideration of his official ſervices, inſtead of the cuſtomary grant from the Houſe of Repreſentatives. The reſolution for carrying up this impeachment was carried by a majority of 92 to 8; from whence ſome judgment may be formed of the general temper of the province, and their unanimity, even in this ſtrong and extraordinary meaſure.

Impeachment of Mr. Oliver.

The Governor refuſed to receive the articles, and totally diſclaimed all authority in himſelf and the Council to act as a judicatory, for the trial of any crimes or miſdemeanors whatever. The Houſe of Repreſentatives, far from giving up the matter, only changed their mode of attack; and the Governor finding that they would perſiſt in a proſecution under ſome form or other, and that every new attempt would only ſerve to involve things in ſtill greater difficulty, or at leaſt to increaſe the animoſity, thought it neceſſary, at the concluſion of the month of March, to diſſolve the Aſſembly.

Aſſembly of Maſſachuſett's Bay diſſolved.

May 13, 1774.

Such was the ſtate of things in the province of Maſſachuſett's Bay, when Gen. Gage arrived in his government. The hopes that might have been formed upon a change of adminiſtration, and the joy that generally attends the coming of a new Governor, were, however, nipped in the bud, by the arrival juſt before of a ſhip from London, which brought a copy of the Boſton Port Bill; and a Town Meeting was ſitting to conſider of it, at the very time he arrived in the harbour. As this fatal news was totally unexpected, the conſternation which it cauſed among all orders of people was inexpreſſible. The firſt meaſure was the holding of the Town-Meeting we have mentioned, at which reſolutions were paſſed, and ordered to be immediately tranſmitted to the

General Gage arrives at Boſton.

Great conſternation on receiving the Boſton port bill.

1774. the other colonies, inviting them to enter into an agreement to ſtop all imports and exports to and from Great-Britain and Ireland, and every part of the Weſt-Indies, until the act was repealed, as the only means (they ſaid) that were left for the ſalvation of North America and her liberties. They beſides expatiated on the impolicy, injuſtice, inhumanity, and cruelty of the act, and appealed from it to God and the world.

In the mean time, copies of the act were multiplied with incredible expedition, and diſpatched to every part of the continent with celerity. Theſe had the effect which the poets aſcribe to the Furies' torch; they ſet the countries in a flame through which they paſſed. At Boſton and New York, the populace had copies of the bill printed upon mourning paper with a black border, which they cried about the ſtreets under the title of a barbarous, cruel, bloody, and inhuman murder. In other places, great bodies of the people were called together by public advertiſement, and the obnoxious law burned with great ſolemnity.

There was, however, a very ſurpriſing mixture of ſobriety with this fury; and a degree of moderation was blended with the exceſs into which the people were hurried.

This extraordinary combuſtion in the minds of all ranks of the people did not prevent the Governor's being received with the uſual honours at Boſton. The new Aſſembly of the province met of courſe a few days after, the Council, for the laſt time, being choſen according to their charter. The Governor at their meeting laid nothing more before them than the common buſineſs of the province; but gave them notice of their removal to the town of Salem, on the firſt of June, in purſuance of the late act of parliament. The Aſſembly, to evade this meaſure, were hurrying through the neceſſary buſineſs of the ſupplies with the greateſt expedition, that they might then adjourn themſelves to ſuch time as they thought proper; but the Governor having obtained ſome intelligence of their intention, adjourned them unexpectedly to the 7th of June, then to meet at Salem. Previous to this adjournment, they had preſented a petition to the Governor, for appointing a day of general prayer and faſting, which he did not think proper to comply with.

New Aſſembly meet at Boſton, and are adjourned to Salem.

In the mean time, Provincial or Town-meetings were held in every part of the continent; in which, tho' ſome were much more temperate than others, they all concurred in expreſſing the greateſt diſapprobation of the meaſures which were purſued againſt Boſton, an abhorrence of the new act,

Provincial and town meetings.

and

and a condemnation of the principles on which it was founded, with a reſolution to oppoſe its effects in every manner, and to ſupport their diſtreſſed brethren, who were to be the immediate victims. 1774.

The Houſe of Burgeſſes, of the province of Virginia, appointed the 1ſt of June, the day on which the Boſton Port Bill took place, to be ſet apart for faſting, prayer, and humiliation, to implore the Divine interpoſition, to avert the heavy calamity which threatened deſtruction to their civil rights, with the evils of a civil war; and to give one heart and one mind to the people, firmly to oppoſe every injury to the American rights. This example was either followed, or a ſimilar reſolution adopted, almoſt every where, and the firſt of June became a general day of prayer and humiliation throughout the continent.

Aſſembly of Virginia diſſolved.

This meaſure, however, procured the immediate diſſolution of the Aſſembly of Virginia; but before their ſeparation, an aſſociation was entered into and ſigned by 89 of the members, in which they declared, that an attack made upon one colony, to compel ſubmiſſion to arbitrary taxes, was an attack on all Britiſh America, and threatened ruin to the rights of all, unleſs the united wiſdom of the whole was applied in prevention. They therefore recommended to the committee of correſpondence, to communicate with the ſeveral committees of the other provinces, on the expediency of appointing deputies from the different colonies, to meet annually in General Congreſs, and to deliberate on thoſe general meaſures, which the united intereſts of America might, from time to time, render neceſſary. They concluded with a declaration, that a tender regard for the intereſts of their fellow-ſubjects the merchants and manufacturers of Great-Britain, prevented them from going further at that time.

Philadelphia.

At Philadelphia, about 300 of the inhabitants immediately met, and appointed a committee to write to the town of Boſton. Their letter was temperate, but firm. They acknowledged the difficulty of offering advice upon that ſad occaſion; wiſhed firſt to have the ſenſe of the province in general; obſerved that all lenient applications for obtaining redreſs ſhould be tried before recourſe was had to extremities; that it might perhaps be right to take the ſenſe of a General Congreſs, before the deſperate meaſure of putting an entire ſtop to commerce was adopted; and that it might be right, at any rate, to reſerve that meaſure as the laſt reſource, when all other means had failed. They obſerved,

that

1774. that if the making of reſtitution to the Eaſt India Company for their teas, would put an end to the unhappy controverſy, and leave the people of Boſton upon their ancient footing of conſtitutional liberty, it could not admit of a moment's doubt what part they ſhould act; but it was not the value of the tea, it was the indefeaſible right of giving and granting their own money, a right from which they could never recede, that was now the matter in conſideration.

New-York. A Town-meeting was alſo held at New-York, and a committee of correſpondence appointed; but they were as yet, in general, very temperate in their conduct; and Government had a much ſtronger intereſt in that colony than in any other. The caſe was far different at Annapolis in Maryland, where the people of that city, though under a proprietary government, exceeded the other colonies in the violence of their reſolutions; one of which was to prevent the carrying on of any ſuits in the courts of the province for the debts which were owing from them in Great-Britain. This reſolution, however, was neither adopted nor confirmed by the Provincial meeting which was held ſoon after; nor was it any where carried into practice.

In general, as might have been expected in ſuch great commercial countries, the propoſal for ſhutting up the ports (former reſolutions of this kind having been much abuſed for the private gain of individuals) was received with great ſeriouſneſs, heſitation, and coldneſs; and conſidered as the laſt deſperate reſort, when all other means of redreſs ſhould fail. In other reſpects, upon the arrival of the news from Boſton, moderation was little thought of any where, and the behaviour of the people was nearly ſimilar in all places. At the numberleſs public meetings which were held upon that occaſion, throughout the continent, they paſſed every reſolution, and adopted every meaſure they could for the preſent think of, to ſhew their utmoſt deteſtation of the Boſton Port Bill, and to expreſs their determination of oppoſing its effects in every poſſible manner.

Addreſs from gentlemen, &c. of Boſton to the new governor In this ſtate of general diſſatisfaction, complaint, and oppoſition, General Gage had the temporary ſatisfaction of receiving an addreſs of congratulation, ſigned by 127 gentlemen, merchants and inhabitants of Boſton, who were either the beſt addicted to government, the moſt moderate, or to whom the preſent meaſures ſeemed the leaſt obnoxious. Beſides the compliments cuſtomary upon theſe occaſions, a declaration of the ſtrong hopes which they had founded upon the General's public and private character, and a diſavowal,

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as to themſelves, of all lawleſs violences, they lamented, that a diſcretionary power was not lodged in his hands, to reſtore trade to its former courſe, immediately, upon the terms of the late law being fully complied with; and ſhewed, that as the act ſtood at preſent, notwithſtanding the moſt immediate compliance, ſo much time would be loſt, before his favourable account of their conduct could reach the King and Council, and produce the wiſhed-for effect, as would involve them in unſpeakable miſery, and they feared in total ruin. 1774.

A few days after, an addreſs from the Council was preſented to the Governor, which contained ſome very ſevere reflections on his two immediate predeceſſors, to whoſe machinations, both in concert and apart, that body attributed the origin and progreſs of the diſunion between Great-Britain and her colonies, and all the calamities that afflicted that province. They declared, that the people claimed no more than the rights of Engliſhmen, without diminution or abridgment; and theſe, as it was the indiſpenſable duty of that board, ſo it ſhould be their conſtant endeavour to maintain, to the utmoſt of their power, in perfect conſiſtence, however, with the trueſt loyalty to the crown, the juſt prerogatives of which they would ever be zealous to ſupport. Addreſs from the council rejected.

This addreſs was rejected by the Governor, who would not ſuffer the chairman of the committee to proceed any further, when he had read the part which reflected on his predeceſſors. He afterwards returned an anſwer to the Council in writing, in which he informed them, that he could not receive an addreſs which contained indecent reflections on his predeceſſors, who had been tried and honourably acquitted by the Privy Council, and their conduct approved by the King. That he conſidered the addreſs as an inſult upon his Majeſty, and the Lords of his Privy Council, and an affront to himſelf.

The Houſe of Repreſentatives, upon their meeting at Salem, paſſed a reſolution, in which they declared the expediency of a general meeting of committees from the ſeveral colonies, and ſpecified the purpoſes which rendered ſuch meeting neceſſary. By another, they appointed five gentlemen, of thoſe who had been the moſt remarkable in oppoſition, as a committee to repreſent that province. And by a third, they voted the ſum of 500l. to the ſaid committee, to enable them to diſcharge the important truſt to which they were appointed. Tranſactions of the houſe of repreſentatives at Salem.

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1774. As neither this appointment, nor diſpoſal of the public money, could be at all agreeable to the Governor, he accordingly refuſed his concurrence to the latter; upon which the aſſembly paſſed a reſolution, to recommend to the ſeveral towns and diſtricts within the province, to raiſe the ſaid 500l. by equitable proportions, according to the laſt provincial tax. A recommendation, which, at preſent, had all the force of a law.

The Aſſembly foreſeeing that their diſſolution was at hand, were determined to give the people a public teſtimony of their opinions, and under the title of recommendations to preſcribe rules for their conduct, which they knew would be more punctually complied with, than the poſitive injunctions of laws. They accordingly paſſed a declaratory reſolution, expreſſive of their ſenſe of the ſtate of public affairs, and of the deſigns of government, in which they advanced, that they, with the other American colonies, had long been ſtruggling under the heavy hand of power; and that their dutiful petitions for the redreſs of intolerable grievances had not only been diſregarded, but that the deſign totally to alter the free conſtitution and civil government in Britiſh America, to eſtabliſh arbitrary governments, and to reduce the inhabitants to ſlavery, appeared more and more to be fixed and determined. They then recommended in the ſtrongeſt terms to the inhabitants of the province, totally to renounce the conſumption of India teas, and, as far as in them lay, to diſcontinue the uſe of all goods imported from the Eaſt-Indies and Great-Britain, until the public grievances of America ſhould be radically and totally redreſſed. And the more fully to carry this eſſential purpoſe into effect, it was ſtrongly recommended, that they ſhould give every poſſible encouragement to the manufactures of America.

Though the committee, that was appointed to conduct this buſineſs, endeavoured to carry it on with the greateſt privacy, the Governor, notwithſtanding, obtained ſome intelligence of it, and on the very day upon which they made their report, he ſent his Secretary to pronounce their immediate diſſolution. The Secretary, upon his arrival, finding the door locked, ſent the Houſe-meſſenger to acquaint the Speaker, that he had a meſſage from the Governor, and deſired admittance to deliver it. The Speaker, in ſome time, returned for anſwer, that he had acquainted the Houſe with the meſſage, which he had received, and that their orders were to keep the door faſt. Upon this refuſal of admittance the Secretary cauſed proclamation to be made upon the ſtairs,

ſtairs, of the diſſolution of the General Aſſembly. Such was the iſſue of the final conteſt between the Governor of Maſſachuſett's Bay, and the laſt Aſſembly which was holden in that province, upon the principles of its charter. June 17. 1774.

The aſſembly diſſolved.

The day after the diſſolution of the Aſſembly, a moſt pathetic, but at the ſame time firm and manly addreſs, was preſented from the merchants and freeholders of the town of Salem to the Governor. We cannot forget, that this town was now become the temporary capital of the province, in the place of Boſton; and that the General Aſſembly, the Courts of Juſtice, the Cuſtom-houſe, and, ſo far as it could be done by power, the trade of that were removed thither; ſo that they were already in poſſeſſion of a principal ſhare of thoſe ſpoils, which it was ſuppoſed would have effectually influenced the conduct of that people, and thereby have bred ſuch incurable envy, jealouſy and animoſity, between the gainers and ſufferers, that the refractory capital finding herſelf abandoned, and being left alone to ruminate upon her forlorn ſituation, would ſoon be reclaimed, and brought to as full a ſenſe of her duty, as of her puniſh ment.

Addreſs from the town of Salem.

Whether this opinion was founded upon a thorough knowledge of human nature in general, or took its riſe from particular inſtances, which were extended in ſpeculation to the whole, may perhaps, in a certain degree, be determined from the following generous ſentiments of the inhabitants of Salem. They ſay, "We are deeply afflicted with a ſenſe of our public calamities; but the miſeries that are now rapidly haſtening on our brethren in the capital of the province, greatly excite our commiſeration; and we hope your Excellency will uſe your endeavours to prevent a further accumulation of evils on that already ſorely diſtreſſed people." ——"By ſhutting up the port of Boſton, ſome imagine that the courſe of trade may be turned hither, and to our benefit; but nature, in the formation of our harbour, forbids our becoming rivals in commerce with that convenient mart. And were it otherwiſe, we muſt be dead to every idea of juſtice, loſt to all feelings of humanity, could we indulge one thought to ſeize on wealth, and raiſe our fortunes on the ruin of our ſuffering neighbours."

This whole addreſs is remarkable for the propriety with which it is conducted, and the juſtneſs of its ſentiments. They treat the governor with the higheſt reſpect, and hope much from his general character, as well as from his conduct in a former government; they expreſs the ſtrongeſt attachment

1774. tachment to the mother country, the deepeſt concern for the preſent unhappy troubles, and the moſt fervent wiſhes for a ſpeedy and happy reconciliation, to obtain which, they are willing to ſacrifice every thing, compatible with the ſafety of Britiſh ſubjects.

The general had formed conſiderable hopes upon the conduct of the merchants; who he expected would have entered into the ſpirit of the late law, and by removing their commerce along with the Cuſtom-houſe to Salem, have thereby the ſooner induced the capital to the compliances which were wiſhed by government. In theſe expectations he was diſappointed. It is probable, that the merchants thought it fit and neceſſary to keep fair with government, and in general diſapproved of all violences; but it ſeems evident, that they did not enter heartily into the new meaſures. It ſeems alſo probable, that he believed the friends of the ſyſtem of government now adopted, to be ſtronger and more numerous than they really were. An experiment was however made, which ſet this matter in a clear light. The friends of government attended a town-meeting at Boſton, and attempted to paſs reſolutions for the payment of the tea, and for diſſolving the committee of correſpondence; but they found themſelves loſt in a prodigious majority; and had no other reſource, than the drawing up of a proteſt againſt the proceedings of that aſſembly.

In the mean time, rough-draughts of the two remaining bills relative to the province of Maſſachuſett's-Bay, as well as of that for quartering the troops in America, all of which were in agitation in England, at the time that the laſt ſhips ſailed from thence, were received, and immediately circulated throughout the continent. The knowledge of theſe bills, filled up whatever was wanting before, of violence and indignation in moſt of the colonies. Even thoſe who were moderate, or ſeemed wavering, now became ſanguine. The idea of ſhutting up the ports, became common language, and to be conſidered as a matter of neceſſity. Nothing was to be heard of but meetings and reſolutions. Liberal contributions for the relief of their diſtreſſed brethren in Boſton, were every where recommended, and ſoon reduced into practice. Numberleſs letters were written from towns, diſtricts, and provinces, to the people of Boſton, in which, beſides every expreſſion of ſympathy and tenderneſs, they were highly flattered for their paſt conduct, and ſtrongly exhorted to a perſeverance in that virtue, which brought on their ſufferings.

General temper and diſpoſition of the people throughout the continent

The

The people of America at this time, with reſpect to political opinions, might in general be divided into two great claſſes. Of theſe, one was for ruſhing headlong into the greateſt extremities; they would put an immediate ſtop to trade, without waiting till other meaſures were tried, or receiving the general ſenſe of the colonies upon a ſubject of ſuch alarming importance; and though they were eager for the holding of a congreſs, they would leave it nothing to do, but to proſecute the violences which they had begun. The other, if leſs numerous, was not leſs reſpectable, and though more moderate, were perhaps equally firm. Theſe were averſe to any violent meaſures being adopted until all means were ineffectually tried; they wiſhed further applications to be made to G. Britain; and the grievances they complained of, with the rights which they claimed, to be clearly ſtated, and properly preſented. This, they ſaid, could only be done effectually by a general congreſs, as in any other manner it might be liable to the objection of being only the act of a few men, or of a particular colony. We, however, acknowledge a third party, which were the friends to the adminiſtration in England, or more properly, thoſe who did not totally diſapprove of its meaſures; but their ſtill ſmall voice was ſo low, that except in a few particular places, it could ſcarcely be diſtinguiſhed. 1774.

The more violent, who had not patience to wait for the reſult of a Congreſs, entered into other meaſures. An agreement was framed by the committee of correſpondence at Boſton, which they entitled—"*a ſolemn league and covenant*," wherein the ſubſcribers bound themſelves in the moſt ſolemn manner, and in the preſence of God, to ſuſpend all commercial intercourſe with Great-Britain, from the laſt day of the enſuing month of Auguſt, until the Boſton Port-bill, and the other late obnoxious laws were repealed, and the colony of Maſſachuſett's-Bay fully reſtored to its chartered rights. They alſo bound themſelves in the ſame manner, not to conſume, or to purchaſe from any other, any goods whatever, which arrived after the ſpecified time, and to break off all commerce, trade and dealings, with any who did, as well as with the importers of ſuch goods. They renounced in the ſame manner, all future intercourſe and connection with thoſe who ſhould refuſe to ſubſcribe to that Covenant, or to bind themſelves by ſome ſimilar agreement, with the dangerous penalty annexed, of having their names publiſhed to the world. Solemn league and covenant.

The Covenant, accompanied with a letter from the committee at Boſton, was circulated with the uſual activity, and the

1774. the people, not only in the New England governments, but in the other provinces, entered into this new league with the greateſt eagerneſs. It ſeems, however, that ſimilar agreements had been entered into about the ſame time, in various parts of the continent, and without any previous concert with each other, any more than with thoſe at Boſton.

General Gage was much alarmed at this proceeding; to which its name, as well as its tendency, might poſſibly contribute. He accordingly publiſhed a ſtrong proclamation againſt it, in which it was ſtiled an unlawful, hoſtile, and traiterous combination, contrary to the allegiance due to the king, deſtructive of the lawful authority of the Britiſh parliament, and of the peace, good order, and ſafety of the community. All perſons were warned againſt incurring the pains and penalties due to ſuch aggravations and dangerous offences, and all magiſtrates charged to apprehend and ſecure for trial, ſuch as ſhould have any ſhare in the publiſhing, ſubſcribing, aiding, or abetting the foregoing, or any ſimilar covenant.

June 29, Proclamation againſt it.

This proclamation had no other effect than to exerciſe the pens and the judgment of thoſe who were verſed in legal knowledge, by endeavouring to ſhew, that the aſſociation did not come within any of the treaſon-laws, and that the charges made by the governor, were conſequently erroneous, unjuſt, and highly injurious. They ſaid he had aſſumed a power, which the conſtitution denied even to the ſovereign, the power of making thoſe things to be treaſon, which were not conſidered as ſuch by the laws; that the people had a right to aſſemble to conſider of their common grievances, and to form aſſociations for their general conduct towards the remedy of thoſe grievances; and that the proclamation was equally arbitrary, odious, and illegal.

Meaſures were now every where taken for the holding of a general congreſs; and Philadelphia, from the convenience of its ſituation, as well as its ſecurity, was fixed upon as the place, and the beginning of Sept. the time, for meeting. Where an aſſembly happened to be ſitting, as in the caſe of Maſſachuſett's-Bay, they appointed deputies to repreſent the province in the Congreſs. But as this happened to be the caſe in very few inſtances, the general method was, for the people to elect their uſual number of repreſentatives, and theſe, at a general meeting, choſe deputies among themſelves; the number of which, in general, bore ſome proportion to the extent and importance of the province; two being the leaſt, and ſeven the greateſt number, that repreſented any colony. But whatever the number of repreſentatives were, each colony had no more than a ſingle vote. At

Meaſures relative to the holding of a general congreſs.

At theſe county and provincial meetings, a number of reſolutions were conſtantly paſſed, among which a declaration that the Boſton Port-act was oppreſſive, unjuſt, and unconſtitutional in its principles, and dangerous to the liberties of America, was always among the foremoſt. At Philadelphia, a petition, ſigned by near 900 freeholders, was preſented to Mr. Penn, the Governor, intreating him to call a general aſſembly as ſoon as poſſible. This requeſt being refuſed, the province proceeded to the election of deputies, who ſoon after met at Philadelphia. As the reſolutions paſſed at this meeting, carry more the marks of cool and temperate deliberation, as well as of affection to the mother country, than thoſe of many others, and are at the ſame time equally firm in the determination of ſupporting what they thought their rights, we ſhall be the more particular in our notice of them.

1774. Reſolutions paſſed in different places. July 15,

They ſet out with the ſtrongeſt profeſſions of duty and allegiance to the Sovereign, which could be well deviſed; and declare their abhorrence of every idea, of an unconſtitutional independence on the parent ſtate; upon which account, they ſay, that they view the late differences between G. Britain and the coloniſts, with the deepeſt diſtreſs and anxiety of mind, as fruitleſs to her, grievous to them, and deſtructive to the beſt intereſts of both. They then, after expreſſing the moſt ardent wiſhes for a reformation of the former harmony, declare that the coloniſts are entitled to the ſame rights and liberties within the colonies, that the ſubjects born in England are within that realm.

They reprobate, in the ſtrongeſt terms, the late bills relative to the province of Maſſachuſett's Bay, and declare, that they conſider their brethren at Boſton, as ſuffering in the common cauſe of all the colonies. They alſo declare, the abſolute neceſſity of a CONGRESS, to conſult together, and to form a general plan of conduct to be obſerved by all the colonies, for the purpoſes of procuring relief for their ſuffering brethren, obtaining redreſs of their general grievances, preventing future diſſentions, firmly eſtabliſhing their rights, and the reſtoration of harmony between Great-Britain and her colonies upon a conſtitutional foundation.

They acknowledge, that a ſuſpenſion of the commerce of that large trading province with Great-Britain, would greatly diſtreſs multitudes of their induſtrious inhabitants; but declare that they are ready to offer that ſacrifice, and a much greater, for the preſervation of their liberties; that, however, in regard to the people of Great-Britain, as well as of their own country, and in hopes that their juſt remonſtrances might

at

1774. at length have effect, it was their earneſt deſire, that the Congreſs ſhould firſt try the gentle mode of ſtating their grivances, and making a firm and decent claim of redreſs. They conclude with warning dealers not to raiſe the price of their merchandize beyond the uſual rates, on account of any reſolutions that might be taken with reſpect to importation; and by a declaration, that, that province would break off all dealing and commercial intercourſe whatſoever, with any town, city or colony on the continent, or with any individuals in them, who ſhould refuſe, decline, or neglect to adopt and carry into execution ſuch general plan as ſhould be agreed upon in the Congreſs.

Aug. 1ſt. At a meeting of the delegates of the ſeveral counties of Virginia at Williamſburgh, which laſted for ſix days, beſides profeſſions of allegiance and loyalty, of regard and affection for their fellow-ſubjects in Great-Britain, equally ſtrongly expreſſed with thoſe which we have mentioned, and ſeveral reſolutions in common with the other colonies, they paſſed others which were peculiar, and conſidering the ſtate and circumſtances of that province, with its immediate dependence on the mother country for the diſpoſal of its only ſtaple commodity, muſt be conſidered very deſerving of attention, becauſe ſtrongly indicating the true ſpirit of that people.

Among theſe, they reſolved not to purchaſe any more ſlaves from Africa, the Weſt-Indies, or any other place; that their *non-importation agreement* (which had been early entered into) ſhould take place on the firſt of the following November;—that if the American grievances were not redreſſed by the 10th of Auguſt 1775, they would export, after that time, no tobacco, or any other goods whatever, to Great-Britain; and to render this laſt reſolution the more effectual, they ſtrongly recommended the cultivation of ſuch articles of huſbandry, inſtead of tobacco, as may form a proper baſis for manufactures of all ſorts; and particularly to improve the breed of their ſheep, to multiply them, and to kill as few of them as poſſible. They alſo reſolved to declare thoſe enemies to their country, who ſhould break through the Non-importation reſolution. The people of Mary-land, the other great tobacco colony, were not behind hand with thoſe of Virginia in their determinations; and the two Carolinas, whoſe exiſtence ſeemed to depend upon their exportation, were by no means among the leaſt violent.

Thus the Boſton Port-bill and its companions, had even exceeded the prognoſtications of their moſt violent opponents. They had raiſed a flame from one end to the other of the continent

nent of America, and united all the old colonies in one com- 1774.
non cauſe. A ſimilar language was every where held; or
f there was any difference in the language, the meaſures that
vere adopted were every where directed to the ſame object.
They all agreed in the main points, of holding a Congreſs,
f not ſubmitting to the payment of any internal taxes, that
vere not, as uſual, impoſed by their own aſſemblies, and of
uſpending all commerce with the mother country, until the
American grievances in general, and thoſe of Maſſachuſett's
Bay in particular, were fully redreſſed.

The people, as is always the caſe, were, from circum-
ſtances or temper, more or leſs violent in different places;
but the reſolution as to the great object of debate, the point
of *taxation*, was every where the ſame, and the moſt mode-
rate, even at New-York, ſeemed determined to endure any
evils, rather than ſubmit to that. At Newport, in Rhode
Iſland, the flame burned higher than in ſome other places;
an inflammatory paper was there publiſhed, with a motto
in capitals,—" JOIN OR DIE;"—in this piece the ſtate of
Boſton was repreſented as a ſiege, and as a direct and hoſtile
invaſion of all the colonies; " the generals of deſpotiſm, (it
" ſays) are now drawing the lines of circumvallation around
" our bulwarks of liberty; and nothing but unity, reſolution,
" and perſeverance can ſave ourſelves and our poſterity from
" what is worſe than death,—*ſlavery*."

What rendered this ſtate of affairs the more dangerous,
was, that it did not ariſe from the diſcontent of a turbulent
or oppreſſed nobility, where, by bringing over a few of the
leaders, the reſt muſt follow of courſe, or perſiſt only to their
ruin; nor did it depend upon the reſolution or perſeverance of
a body of merchants and dealers, where every man, habitu-
ally ſtudious of his immediate intereſt, would tremble at the
thought of thoſe conſequences, which might eſſentially affect
it; and where a few lucrative jobs or contracts, properly ap-
plied, would ſplit them into numberleſs factions; on the con-
trary, in this inſtance, the great force of the oppoſition to
government, conſiſted in the land-holders throughout America.
The Britiſh lands, in that vaſt continent, are generally por-
tioned out in numberleſs ſmall freeholds, and afford that me-
diocrity of condition to the poſſeſſors, which is ſufficient to
raiſe ſtrong bodies and vigorous minds; but ſeldom that ſuper-
abundance, which proves ſo fatal to both in old and refined
countries. The American freeholders, at preſent, are near
ly, in point of condition, what the Engliſh yeomen were
of old, when they rendered us formidable to all Europe, and

our

1774. our name clebrated throughout the world. The former from many obvious circumſtances, are more enthuſiaſtical lovers of liberty, than even our yeomen were. Such a body was too numerous to be bribed, and too bold to be deſpiſed without great danger.

Addreſs from the juſtices of Plymouth county.

In this untoward ſtate of public affairs, General Gage had the conſolation to receive a congratulatory addreſs from the Juſtices of the Peace of Plymouth county, aſſembled at their general ſeſſions, in which, beſides the cuſtomary compliments, they expreſſed great concern at ſeeing that the inhabitants of ſome towns, influenced by certain perſons, calling themſelves committees of correſpondence, and encouraged by ſome, whoſe buſineſs it was, as preachers of the Goſpel, to inculcate principles of loyalty and obedience to the laws, entering into a league, calculated to encreaſe the diſpleaſure of the ſovereign, to exaſperate the parent country, and to interrupt the harmony of ſociety. A proteſt was alſo paſſed by ſeveral gentlemen of the county of Worceſter, againſt all riotous diſorders, and ſeditious practices. Theſe efforts had however no other effect, than probably to lead the governor as well as adminiſtration into an erroneous opinion, as to the ſtrength and number of the friends of government in that province.

Though liberal contributions were raiſed in the different colonies for the relief of the ſuffering inhabitants of Boſton; yet it may be eaſily conceived, that in a town, containing above 20,000 inhabitants, who had always ſubſiſted by commerce, and the ſeveral trades and kinds of buſineſs ſubſervient to it, and where the maintenance of numberleſs families depend merely upon locality, the cutting off of that grand ſource of their employment and ſubſiſtence, muſt, notwithſtanding any temporary relief, occaſion great and numerous diſtreſſes. Even the rich were not exempt from this general calamity, as a very great part of their property conſiſted in wharfs, ware-houſes, ſheds, and all thoſe numerous erections, which are deſtined to the purpoſes of commerce in a great trading port, and were no longer of any value.

They, however, bore their misfortunes with a wonderful conſtancy, and met with a general ſympathy and tenderneſs, which much confirmed their reſolution. Their neighbours, the merchants and inhabitants of the town and port of Marblehead, who were among thoſe that were to profit the moſt by their ruin, inſtead of endeavouring to reap the fruits of their calamity, ſent them a generous offer of the uſe of their ſtores and wharfs, of attending to the lading and unlading of their goods, and of tranſacting all the buſineſs they ſhould

do

do at their port, without putting them to the ſmalleſt expence; but they at the ſame time exhorted them to perſevere in that patience and reſolution, which had ever been their characteriſtic. 1774.

Soon after the General's arrival in his government, two regiments of foot, with a ſmall detachment of the artillery, and ſome cannon, were landed at Boſton, and encamped on the common, which lies within the Peninſula on which the town ſtands. Theſe troops were by degrees reinforced by the arrival of ſeveral regiments from Ireland, New-York, Halifax, and at length from Quebec. It may be eaſily conceived, that the arrival and ſtation of theſe troops, was far from being agreeable to the inhabitants; nor was the jealouſy in any degree leſs, in the minds of their neighbours of the ſurrounding counties. This diſſatisfaction was further increaſed by the placing of a guard at Boſton Neck; (which is the narrow iſthmus that joins the Peninſula to the continent), a meaſure of which the frequent deſertion of the ſoldiers was either the cauſe, or the pretext. Uneaſineſs excited by the arrival of the troops.

In this ſtate, a trifling circumſtance gave the people of Boſton a full earneſt of the ſupport they might expect from the country in caſe of extremity, and an opportunity of knowing the general temper of the people. A report had been ſpread, perhaps induſtriouſly, that a regiment poſted at the neck, had cut off all communication with the country, in order to ſtarve the town into a compliance with any meaſures that might be propoſed to them. Upon this vague report, a large body of the inhabitants of the county of Worceſter immediately aſſembled, and diſpatched two meſſengers expreſs to Boſton, to diſcover the truth of the intelligence. Theſe envoys informed the town, that if the report had been true, there were ſeveral thouſand armed men, ready to have marched to their aſſiſtance; and told them further, that they were commiſſioned to acquaint them, that even though they might be diſpoſed to a ſurrender of their liberties, the people of the country would not think themſelves at all included in their act. That by the late acts of the Britiſh parliament, and the bills which were pending therein, when the laſt intelligence was received, their charter was utterly vacated; and that the compact between Great-Britain and the colony being thus diſſolved, they were at full liberty to combine together in what manner and form they thought beſt for mutual ſecurity. Falſe alarm.

Not long after the governor iſſued a proclamation for the encouragement of piety and virtue, and for the preventing for the Proclamations

1774. Aug 4. encouragement of piety and virtue, &c.

ing and puniſhing of vice, prophaneneſs, and immorality. This proclamation, which was avowedly in imitation of that iſſued by his majeſty upon his acceſſion, ſeems, like moſt acts of government about this time, to have been wrong placed, and ill-timed. The people of that province had always been ſcoffed at, and reproached by their enemies, as well as by thoſe of looſer manners, for a phariſaical attention to outward forms, and to the appearances of religious piety and virtue. It is ſcarcely worth an obſervation, that neither proclamations or laws can reach farther than external appearances. But in this proclamation "Hypocriſy" being inſerted among the immoralities, againſt which the people were warned, it ſeemed as if an act of ſtate were turned into a libel on the people; and this inſult exaſperated greatly the rage of minds already ſufficiently diſcontented.

New counſellors choſen.

Along with the new laws, which did not arrive till the beginning of Auguſt, Governor Gage received a liſt of 36 new counſellors, who in conformity to the new regulations of them, were appointed by the crown, contrary to the method preſcribed by the charter, of their being choſen by the repreſentatives in each aſſembly. Of theſe gentlemen, about 24 accepted the office, which was a ſufficient number to carry on the buſineſs of government, until a freſh nomination ſhould arrive for filling up the vacancies.

Hoſtile appearances.

Matters were now, however, unfortunately tending to that criſis, which was to put an end to all eſtabliſhed government in the province. The people in the different counties became every day more outrageous, and every thing bore the ſemblance of reſiſtance and war; in Berkſhire and Worceſter counties in particular, nothing was to be ſeen or heard of, but the purchaſing and providing of arms, the procuring of ammunition, the caſting of balls, and all thoſe other preparations, which teſtify the moſt immediate danger, and determined reſiſtance. All thoſe, who accepted of offices under the new laws, or prepared to act in conformity with them, were every where declared to be enemies to their country, and threatened with all the conſequences due to ſuch a character. The people of Connecticut, looking upon the fate of their neighbouring colony to be only a prelude to their own, even exceeded them in violence.

New judges incapable of acting

The new judges were rendered every where incapable of proceeding in their office. Upon opening the courts, the great and petty juries throughout the whole province, unanimouſly refuſed to be ſworn, or to act in any manner, under the new judges, and the new laws. The acting otherwiſe

wiſe was deemed ſo heinous, that the clerks of the courts found it neceſſary to acknowledge their contrition in the public papers, for iſſuing the warrants by which the juries were ſummoned to attend, and not only to declare, that let the conſequences be what they may, they would not act ſo again; but that, they had not conſidered what they were doing, and that if their countrymen ſhould forgive them, they could never forgive themſelves for the fault they had committed. At Great Barrington, and ſome other places, the people aſſembled in numerous bodies, and filled the court-houſe and avenues in ſuch a manner, that neither the judges nor their officers could obtain entrance; and upon the ſheriff's commanding them to make way for the court; they anſwered, that they knew no court, nor other eſtabliſhment, independent of the ancient laws and uſages of their country, and to none other would they ſubmit, or give way upon any terms. 1774.

New counſellors compelled to renounce their offices.

The new counſellors were ſtill more unfortunate than the judges. Their houſes were ſurrounded by great bodies of the people, who ſoon diſcovered by their countenance and temper, that they had no other alternative than to ſubmit to a renunciation of their offices, or to ſuffer all the fury of an enraged populace. Moſt of them ſubmitted to the former condition; ſome had the fortune to be in Boſton, and thereby evaded the danger, while others, with great riſque, were purſued and hunted in their eſcape thither, with threats of deſtruction to their houſes and eſtates.

The old conſtitution being taken away by act of parliament, and the new one being rejected by the people, an end was put to all forms of law and government in the province of Maſſachuſett's-Bay; and the people were reduced to that ſtate of anarchy, in which mankind are ſuppoſed to have exiſted in the earlieſt ages. The degree of order, however, which, by the general concurrence of the people, was preſerved in this ſtate of anarchy, will for ever excite the aſtoniſhment of mankind, and continue among the ſtrongeſt proofs of the efficacy of long eſtabliſhed habits, and of a conſtant ſubmiſſion to laws. Excepting the general oppoſition to a new government, and the exceſſes ariſing from it, in the outrages offered to particular perſons who were upon that account obnoxious to the people, no other very conſiderable marks appeared of the ceſſation of law or of government.

In the mean time, General Gage thought it neceſſary, for the ſafety of the troops, as well as to ſecure the important

1774. and town of Boſton, to fortify the neck of land, which afforded the only communication, except by water, between that town and the continent. This meaſure, however neceſſary, could not but increaſe the jealouſy, ſuſpicion, and ill blood, which were already ſo prevalent; but was ſoon ſucceeded by another, that ſtill excited a greater alarm. The ſeaſon of the year was now arrived for the annual muſter of the militia; and the general, having probably ſome ſuſpicion of their conduct when aſſembled, or, as they pretended, being urged thereunto by thoſe ſecret adviſers and tale-bearers, to whoſe inſidious arts, and falſe information, for a long time paſt, as well as the preſent, the Americans attributed all their own calamities, and the troubles that had ariſen between both countries; however it was, he ſeized upon the ammunition and ſtores, which were lodged in the provincial arſenal at Cambridge, and had them brought to Boſton. He alſo, at the ſame time, ſeized upon the powder which was lodged in the magazines at Charles-Town, and ſome other places, being partly private property, and partly provincial.

Fortification on Boſton Neck.

Provincial magazines ſeized.

This excited the moſt violent and univerſal ferment that had yet been known. The people aſſembled to the amount of ſeveral thouſands, and it was with the greateſt difficulty, that ſome of the more moderate and leading gentlemen of the country were able to reſtrain them from marching directly to Boſton, there to demand a delivery of the powder and ſtores, and in caſe of refuſal to attack the troops. A falſe report having been intentionally ſpread, about the ſame time, and extended to Connecticut, in order, probably, to try the temper of that province, that the ſhips and troops had attacked the town of Boſton, and were then firing upon it, when the pretended bearers of the news had come away, ſeveral thouſands of thoſe people immediately aſſembled in arms, and marched, with great expedition, a conſiderable diſtance, to the relief, as they ſuppoſed, of their ſuffering neighbours, before they were convinced of the miſtake.

The people in a violent ferment.

About this time, the governor's company of cadets, conſiſting wholly of gentlemen of Boſton, and of ſuch, in general, as had always been well affected to government, diſbanded themſelves, and returned to the general the ſtandard, with which, according to cuſtom, he had preſented them upon his arrival. This ſlight to the governor, and apparent diſreliſh to the new government, proceeded immediately from his having taken away Mr. Hancock's commiſſion, who was the colonel of that corps. A Colonel Murray of the

Company of cadets diſband themſelves, & return the ſtandard.

the militia, having accepted a ſeat in the new council, 24 officers of his regiment reſigned their commiſſions in one day; ſo general was the ſpirit which was now gone forth. 1774.

The late meaſure of ſeizing the powder, as well as the fortifications which were erecting on Boſton-neck, occaſioned the holding of an aſſembly of delegates, from all the towns of the county of Suffolk, of which Boſton is the county town and capital. In this aſſembly a great number of reſolutions were paſſed, ſome of which militated more ſtrongly with the authority of the new legiſlature, than any that had yet appeared. They are, however, introduced by a declaration of allegiance; but they alſo declare it to be their duty, by all lawful means to defend their civil and religious rights and liberties; that the late acts are groſs infractions of thoſe rights; and that no obedience is due from that province to either, or any part of thoſe acts; but that they ought to be rejected as the wicked attempts of an abandoned adminiſtration to eſtabliſh a deſpotic government. They engaged that the county ſhould ſupport and bear harmleſs all ſheriffs, jurors, and other perſons who ſhould ſuffer proſecution for not acting under the preſent unconſtitutional judges, or carrying into execution any orders of their courts; and reſolved, that thoſe who had accepted ſeats at the council-board, had violated the duty they owed to their country; and that if they did not vacate them within a ſhort limited time they ſhould be conſidered as obſtinate and incorrigible enemies to their country.

Sundry reſolutions paſſed by the delegates of the county of Suffolk.

They alſo paſſed reſolutions againſt the fortifications at Boſton-neck; the Quebec bill; for the ſuſpenſion of commerce; for the encouragement of arts and manufactures; for the holding of a provincial congreſs; and to pay all due reſpect and ſubmiſſion to the meaſures which ſhould be recommended by the Continental Congreſs. They recommended to the people to perfect themſelves in the art of war; and for that purpoſe, that the militia ſhould appear under arms once every week. That, as it had been reported, that ſeveral gentlemen who had rendered themſelves conſpicuous by contending for the violated rights of their country, were to be apprehended, in caſe ſo audacious a meaſure ſhould be carried into execution, they recommend, that all the officers of ſo tyrannical a government, ſhould be ſeized, and kept in ſafe cuſtody, until the former were reſtored to their friends and families.

Then followed a recommendation, which, in the preſent ſtate of things, amounted to a peremptory command, to the

1774. the collectors of the taxes, and all other receivers and holders of the public money, not to pay it as usual to the treasurer; but to detain it in their hands, until the civil government of the province was placed on a constitutional foundation; or until it should be otherwise ordered by the Provincial Congress. They, however, declare, that notwithstanding the many insults and oppressions which they most sensibly feel and resent, they are determined to act merely on the defensive, so long as such conduct may be vindicated by reason, and the principles of self-preservation. They conclude by exhorting the people to restrain their resentments, to avoid all riots and disorderly proceedings, as being destructive of all good government; and by a steady, manly, uniform, and persevering opposition, to convince their enemies, that, in a contest so important, in a cause so solemn, *their conduct should be such as to merit the approbation of the wise, and the admiration of the brave and free, of every age, and of every country.*

Sept. 9th. Remonstrance. They then appointed a committee to wait upon the governor, with a remonstrance against the fortifying of Boston-neck; in which they declare, that though the loyal people of that county think themselves oppressed by some late acts of the British parliament, and are resolved, by *divine assistance*, never to submit to them, they have no inclination to commence war with his majesty's troops. They impute the present extraordinary ferment in the minds of the people, besides the new fortification, to the seizing of the powder, to the planting of cannon on the Neck, and to the insults and abuse offered to passengers by the soldiers, in which, they say, they have been encouraged by some of the officers; and conclude, by declaring, that nothing less than a removal or redress of those grievances, can place the inhabitants of the county in that situation of peace and tranquility, which every free subject ought to enjoy. In this address they totally disclaimed every wish and idea of independency, and attributed all the present troubles to misinformation at home, and the sinister designs of particular persons.

Answer. To this address General Gage answered, that he had no intention to prevent the free egress and regress of any person to and from the town of Boston; that he would suffer none under his command to injure the person or property of any of his majesty's subjects; but that it was his duty to preserve the peace, and to prevent surprize; and that no use would be made of the cannon, unless their hostile proceedings should render it necessary.

Before

Before public affairs had arrived at their preſent alarming ſtate, the governor, by the advice of the new council, had iſſued writs for the holding of a general aſſembly, which was to meet in the beginning of October; but the events that afterwards took place, and the heat and violence which every where prevailed, together with the reſignation of ſo great a number of the new mandamus counſellors, as deprived the ſmall remainder of all efficacy, made him think it expedient to countermand the writs by a proclamation, and to defer the holding of the aſſembly to a fitter ſeaſon. The legality of this proclamation was called in queſtion, and the elections every where took place without regard to it. The new members accordingly met at Salem, purſuant to the precepts; but having waited a day, without the governor, or any ſubſtitute for him attending, to adminiſter the oaths, and open the ſeſſion, they voted themſelves into a provincial Congreſs, to be joined by ſuch others as had been, or ſhould be elected for that purpoſe; after which, Mr. Hancock, ſo obnoxious to the governor's party, was choſen chairman, and they adjourned to the town of Concord, about 20 miles from Boſton.

1774.

Writs for holding a general aſſembly countermanded by proclamation.

Oct. 11th

The repreſentatives meet notwithſtanding at Salem; vote themſelves into a provincial congreſs, and adjourn to the town of Concord.

Among their earlieſt proceedings, they appointed a committee to wait upon the governor with a remonſtrance, in which they apologized for their preſent meeting, by repreſenting, that the diſtreſſed and miſerable ſtate of the colony, had rendered it indiſpenſably neceſſary to collect the wiſdom of the province by their delegates in that Congreſs; thereby to concert ſome adequate remedy to prevent impending ruin, and to provide for the public ſafety. They then expreſs the grievous apprehenſions of the people from the meaſures now purſuing. They aſſert, that even the rigour of the Boſton port bill is exceeded, by the manner in which it was carried into execution. They complain of the late laws, calculated not only to abridge the people of their rights, but to licenſe murders; of the number of troops in the capital, which were daily increaſing by new acceſſions drawn from every part of the continent; together with the formidable and hoſtile preparations at Boſton-neck; all tending to endanger the lives, liberties, and properties, not only of the people of Boſton, but of the province in general. They conclude by adjuring the general, as he regards his Majeſty's honour and intereſt, the dignity and happineſs of the empire, and the peace and welfare of the province, to deſiſt immediately from the conſtruction of the fortreſs at the entrance into Boſton, and to reſtore that paſs to its natural ſtate.

Remonſtrance from the provincial congreſs;

The

1774. The general was involved in ſome difficulty in giving them an anſwer, as he could not acknowledge the legality of their aſſembling. The neceſſity of the times however prevailed. He expreſſed great indignation that an idea ſhould be formed, that the lives, liberties or property of any people, except avowed enemies, ſhould be in danger from Engliſh troops.—Britain, he ſaid, could never harbour the black deſign of wantonly deſtroying or enſlaving any people; and notwithſtanding the enmity ſhewn to the troops, by withholding from them almoſt every neceſſary for their preſervation, they had not yet diſcovered the reſentment which might juſtly be expected to ariſe from ſuch hoſtile treatment. He reminded the Congreſs, that while they complain of alterations made in their charter by acts of parliament, they are themſelves, by their preſent aſſembling, ſubverting that charter, and now acting in direct violation of their own conſtitution; he therefore warned them of the rocks they were upon, and to deſiſt from ſuch illegal and unconſtitutional proceedings. By this time Boſton was become the place of refuge to all thoſe friends of the new government, who thought it neceſſary to perſevere in avowing their ſentiments. The commiſſioners of the cuſtoms, with all their officers, had alſo thought it neceſſary, towards the concluſion of the preceding month, to abandon their head-quarters at Salem, and to remove the apparatus of a cuſtom-houſe, to a place which an act of parliament had proſcribed from all trade. Thus the new acts of parliament on one hand, and the reſiſtance of the people on the other, equally joined to annihilate all appearance of government, legiſlation, judicial proceedings, and commercial regulations.

Governor's anſwer.

Upon the approach of winter, the general had ordered temporary barracks to be erected for the troops, partly, perhaps, for ſafety, and partly to prevent the diſorders and miſchiefs, which, in the preſent ſtate and temper of both, muſt be the unavoidable conſequences of their being quartered upon the inhabitants. Such, however, was the diſlike to their being provided for in any manner, that the ſelect-men and the committees obliged the workmen to quit their employment, though the money for their labour would have been paid by the crown. The general had as little ſucceſs in endeavouring to procure carpenters from New-York, ſo that it was with the greateſt difficulty he could get thoſe temporary lodgments erected; and having endeavoured alſo to procure ſome winter covering from the latter city, the offer to purchaſe it was preſented to every merchant there, who to a man refuſed complying with any part of the order, and returned for anſwer,

"That

'That they never would ſupply any article for the benefit 1774.
'of men who were ſent as enemies to their country."

State of affairs at Boſton.

Every thing now tended to increaſe the mutual apprehenſion, diſtruſt, and animoſity between government and the people. Thoſe of Boſton, either were, or pretended to be, under continual terror, from the apprehenſions of immediate danger, to their properties, liberties, and even their lives. They were in the hands of an armed force, whom they abhorred, and who equally deteſted them. The ſoldiers, on the other hand, conſidered themſelves in the midſt of enemies, and were equally apprehenſive of danger from within and without. Each ſide profeſſed the beſt intentions in the world for itſelf, and ſhewed the greateſt ſuſpicion of the other. In this ſtate of doubt and profeſſion, things were rendered ſtill worſe, by a meaſure, which did not ſeem of ſufficient importance in its conſequences, to juſtify its being hazarded at ſo critical a ſeaſon. This was the landing of a detachment of ſailors by night, from the ſhips of war in the harbour, who ſpiked up all the cannon upon one of the principal batteries belonging to the town.

Further proceedings of the provincial congreſs.

In the mean time the Provincial Congreſs, notwithſtanding the cautions given, and dangers held out by the governor, not only continued their aſſembly, but their reſolutions having acquired, from the diſpoſition and promptitude of the people, all the weight and efficacy of laws, they ſeemed to have founded in effect ſomething like a new and independent government. Under the ſtyle of recommendation and advice, they ſettled the militia; and regulated the public treaſures; and they provided arms. They appointed a day of public thankſgiving, on which, among the other enumerated bleſſings, a particular acknowledgement was to be made to the Almighty, for the union which ſo remarkably prevailed in all the colonies.

Nov. 10, Proclamation.

Theſe and ſimilar meaſures, induced General Gage to iſſue a proclamation, in which, tho' the direct terms are avoided, they are charged with proceedings, which are generally underſtood as nearly tantamount to treaſon and rebellion. The inhabitants of the province were accordingly, in the king's name, prohibited from complying, in any degree, with the requiſitions, recommendations, directions, or reſolves of that unlawful aſſembly.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Reſolutions of the General Congreſs, held at Philadelphia, and opened on Monday the 5th of September, 1774.

1774. Sept. 5th

General Congreſs held at Philadelphia.

DURING theſe tranſactions in the province of Maſſachuſett's-Bay, the twelve old colonies, including that whole extent of continent which ſtretches from Nova-Scotia to Georgia, had appointed deputies to attend the General Congreſs, which was held at Philadelphia, and opened on Monday the 5th of September 1774. Such was the unhappy effect of the meaſures purſued, perhaps ſomewhat too avowedly, and for that reaſon the leſs wiſely, for reducing America by diviſion; that thoſe twelve colonies, claſhing in intereſts, frequently quarrelling about boundaries and many other ſubjects, differing in manners, cuſtoms, religion, and forms of government, with all the local prejudices, jealouſies, and averſions, incident to neighbouring ſtates, were now led to aſſemble by their delegates in a general diet, and taught to feel their weight and importance in a common union. Whatever may be the event, it was undoubtedly a dangerous experiment to bring matters to this criſis.

Previous inſtructions to ſome of the deputies.

Several of the colonies had given inſtructions to their deputies previous to their meeting in congreſs. In general, they contained the ſtrongeſt profeſſions of loyalty and allegiance; of affection for the mother country; of conſtitutional dependence on her; and of gratitude for benefits already received in that ſtate. They totally diſclaimed every idea of independence, or of ſeeking a ſeparation; acknowledged the prerogatives of the crown, and declared their readineſs and willingneſs to ſupport them with life and fortune, ſo far as they are warranted by the conſtitution. The Penſylvanians, in particular, declare that they view the preſent conteſts with the deepeſt concern; that perpetual love and union, an interchange of good offices, without the leaſt infraction of mutual rights, ought ever to ſubſiſt between the mother country and them.

On the other hand, they were unanimous in declaring, that they never would give up thoſe rights and liberties which, as they ſay, deſcended to them from their anceſtors, and which, they ſay, they were bound by all laws, human and divine,

to

o tranſm't whole and pure to their poſterity; that they are entitled to all the rights and liberties of Britiſh-born ſubjects; hat the power lately aſſumed by parliament is unjuſt, and the only cauſe of all the preſent uneaſineſs; and that the late acts reſpecting the capital and province of Maſſachuſett's-Bay, are unconſtitutional, oppreſſive, and dangerous. 1774.

The inſtructions, however, of the ſeveral colonies that purſued that mode, differed conſiderably from each other. In ſome great violence appeared. Others were more reaſonable. In ſome nothing was ſpoken of but their grievances. Others propoſed likewiſe terms on their part to be offered to G. Britain. Such as an obedience to all the trade laws paſſed, or to be paſſed, except ſuch as were ſpecified; and the ſettling an annual revenue on the crown for public purpoſes, and diſpoſable by parliament. The deputies however were inſtructed, that in theſe and all other points, they were to coincide with the majority of the Congreſs. This majority was to be determined by reckoning the colonies, as having each a vote, without regard to the number of deputies which it ſhould ſend.

The debates and proceedings of the Congreſs were conducted with the greateſt ſecrecy, nor have any parts of them yet tranſpired, but thoſe which they thought proper to lay before the public. The number of delegates amounted to 51, who repreſented the ſeveral Engliſh colonies of New-Hampſhire, Maſſachuſett's-Bay, Rhode-Iſland, and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jerſey, Penſylvania, the lower counties on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, and South Carolina.

Sept. 17. Acts of the Congreſs.

The firſt public act of the Congreſs was a declaratory reſolution expreſſive of their diſpoſition with reſpect to the colony of Maſſachuſett's-Bay, and immediately intended to confirm and encourage that people. In this they expreſſed, in the moſt pathetic terms, how deeply they felt the ſufferings of their country-men in that province, under the operation, they ſaid, of the late unjuſt, cruel, and oppreſſive acts of the Britiſh parliament; they thoroughly approved of the wiſdom and fortitude with which their oppoſition to theſe miniſterial meaſures had hitherto been conducted, as well as of the reſolutions paſſed, and meaſures propoſed, by the delegates of the county of Suffolk; and earneſtly recommended a perſeverance in the ſame firm and temperate conduct, according to the determinations of that aſſembly. This was immediately publiſhed, and tranſmitted to that province, accompanied with an unanimous reſolution, That contributions from all the

Approbation of the conduct of the province of Maſſachuſett's Bay.

1774. the colonies for ſupplying the neceſſities, and alleviating the diſtreſſes of their brethren at Boſton, ought to be continued in ſuch manner, and ſo long, as their occaſions may require.

Reſolutions paſſed by the county of Suffolk.

By the ſubſequent reſolutions of the Congreſs, they not only formally approve of the oppoſition made by that province to the late acts; but further declare, that if it ſhould be attempted to be carried into execution by force, all America ſhould ſupport it in that oppoſition.—That if it be found abſolutely neceſſary to remove the people of Boſton into the country, all America ſhould contribute towards recompenſing them for the injury they might thereby ſuſtain.—They recommended to the inhabitants of Maſſachuſett's-Bay, to ſubmit to a ſuſpenſion of the adminiſtration of juſtice, as it cannot be procured in a legal manner under the rules of the charter, until the effect of the application of the Congreſs for a repeal of thoſe acts, by which their charter rights are infringed, is known.—And that every perſon who ſhall accept, or act under, any commiſſion or authority, derived from the late act of parliament, changing the form of government, and violating the charter of that province, ought to be held in deteſtation, and conſidered as the wicked tool of that deſpotiſm, which is preparing to deſtroy thoſe rights, which God, Nature, and Compact, hath given to America. They beſides recommended to the people of Boſton and Maſſachuſett's-Bay, ſtill to conduct themſelves peaceably towards the general, and the troops ſtationed at Boſton, ſo far as it could poſſibly conſiſt with their preſent ſafety; but that they ſhould firmly perſevere in the defenſive line of conduct which they are now purſuing. The latter part of this inſtruction evidently alluded to and implied an approbation of the late reſolutions of the county of Suffolk, relative to the militia, and to the arming of the people in general. The Congreſs conclude by a reſolution, that the tranſporting, or attempting to tranſport any perſon beyond the ſea, for the trial of offences committed in America, being againſt law, will juſtify, and ought to meet with reſiſtance and repriſal.

Reſolutions.

Letter to G. Gage.

Theſe reſolutions being paſſed, the Congreſs wrote a letter to General Gage, in which, after repeating the complaints which had been before repeatedly made by the town of Boſton, and by the delegates of different counties in the province of Maſſachuſett's-Bay, they declare the determined reſolution of the colonies, to unite for the preſervation of their common rights, in oppoſition to the late acts of parliament, under the execution of which the unhappy people of that province are oppreſſed: that, in conſequence of their ſentiments upon

that

hat ſubject, the colonies had appointed them the guardians of their rights and liberties, and that they felt the deepeſt concern, that, whilſt they were purſuing every dutiful and peaceable meaſure to procure a cordial and effectual reconciliation between Great-Britain and the colonies, his excellency ſhould proceed in a manner that bore ſo hoſtile an appearance, and which even thoſe oppreſſive acts did not warrant. They repreſented the tendency this conduct muſt have to irritate and force a people, however well diſpoſed to peaceable meaſures, into hoſtilities, which might prevent the endeavours of the Congreſs to reſtore a good underſtanding with the parent ſtate, and involve them in the horrors of a Civil War. In order to prevent theſe evils, and the people from being driven to a ſtate of deſperation, being fully perſuaded of their pacific diſpoſition towards the king's troops, if they could be aſſured of their own ſafety, they intreated, that the general would diſcontinue the fortifications in Boſton, prevent any further invaſions of private property, reſtrain the irregularities of the ſoldiers, and give orders that the communications between the town and country ſhould be open, unmoleſted, and free. 1774.

The Congreſs alſo publiſhed a *Declaration of Rights*, to which, they ſay, the Engliſh colonies of North-America are entitled, by the immutable laws of nature, the principles of the Engliſh conſtitution, and the ſeveral charters or compacts. In the firſt of theſe are life, liberty, and property, a right to the diſpoſal of any of which, without their conſent, they had never ceded to any ſovereign power whatever. That their anceſtors, at the time of their migration, were entitled to all the rights, liberties, and immunities, of free and natural born ſubjects; and that by ſuch emigration, they neither forfeited, ſurrendered, nor loſt, any of thoſe rights. They then ſtate, that the foundation of Engliſh liberty, and of all free government, is a right in the people to participate in their legiſlative council; and proceed to ſhew, that as the colonies are not, and, from various cauſes, cannot be repreſented in the Britiſh parliament, they are entitled to a free and excluſive power of legiſlation in their ſeveral provincial legiſlatures, where their right of repreſentation can alone be preſerved, in all caſes of taxation and internal policy, ſubject only to the negative of their ſovereign, in ſuch a manner as had been heretofore uſed and accuſtomed. Declaration of rights.

In order to qualify the extent of this demand of legiſlative power in their aſſemblies, which might ſeem to leave no means of parliamentary interference for holding the colonies

to

1774. to the mother country, they declare that from the neceſſity of the caſe, and a regard to the mutual intereſt of both countries, they chearfully conſent to the operation of ſuch acts of the Britiſh parliament, as are, *bona fide*, reſtrained to the regulation of their external commerce, for the purpoſe of ſecuring the commercial advantages of the whole empire to the mother country, and the commercial benefits of its reſpective members, excluding every idea of taxation, internal or external, for raiſing a revenue on the ſubjects in America, without their conſent.

They alſo reſolved, that the colonies are entitled to the common law of England, and, more eſpecially, to the great and ineſtimable privilege of being tried by their peers of the vicinage. That they are entitled to the benefit of ſuch of the Engliſh ſtatutes as exiſted at the time of their colonization, and which they have by experience found to be applicable to their ſeveral local and other circumſtances. That they are likewiſe entitled to all the immunities and privileges, granted and confirmed to them by royal charters, or ſecured by their ſeveral codes of provincial laws. That they have a right to aſſemble peaceably, conſider of their grievances, and petition the king for redreſs; and that all proſecutions, and prohibitory proclamations for ſo doing, are illegal. That the keeping of a ſtanding army, in times of peace, in any colony, without the conſent of its legiſlature, is contrary to law. That it is eſſential to the Engliſh conſtitution, that the conſtituent branches of the legiſlature ſhould be independent of each other; that therefore, the exerciſe of legiſlative power, by a council appointed during pleaſure by the crown, is unconſtitutional, and deſtructive to the freedom of American legiſlation.

They declared in behalf of themſelves and their conſtituents, that they claimed, and inſiſted on the foregoing articles, as their indubitable rights and liberties, which could not be legally taken from them, altered, or abridged, by any power whatever, without their own conſent, by their repreſentatives in their ſeveral provincial legiſlatures. They then enumerated the parts, or the whole, of *eleven* acts of parliament which had been paſſed in the preſent reign, and which they declared to be infringements and violations of the rights of the coloniſts; and that the repeal of them was eſſentially neceſſary, in order to reſtore harmony between Great-Britain and them. Among the acts of parliament thus reprobated, was the Quebec bill, which had already been the cauſe of ſo much diſcuſſion at home, and which they

hey termed, "An act for eſtabliſhing the Roman Catho- 1774.
'lic religion in the province of Quebec, abolithing the equi-
'table ſyſtem of Engliſh laws, and erecting a tyranny there;"
o the great danger (as they aſſerted) from ſo total a diſſimila-
ity of religion, law, and government, of the neighbouring
Britiſh colonies, by the aſſiſtance of whoſe blood and treaſure
hat country was conquered from France.

After ſpecifying their rights, and enumerating their griev-
ances, they declared, that to obtain redreſs of the latter,
which threatened deſtruction to the lives, liberty, and pro-
perty of the people of North-America, a non-importation,
non-conſumption, and non-exportation, agreement, would
prove the moſt ſpeedy, effectual, and peaceable meaſure;—
they accordingly entered into an aſſociation, by which they Aſſocia-
bound themſelves, and of courſe their conſtituents, to the tion.
ſtrict obſervance of the following articles.—1. That after the Article 1
firſt of the following December, they would import no Bri-
tiſh goods or merchandize whatſoever, nor any Eaſt-India
tea, from any part of the world; nor any of the products of
the Britiſh Weſt-India iſlands; nor wines from Madeira, or
the Weſtern iſlands; nor foreign indigo.——2. That, after —— 2.
that day, they would wholly diſcontinue the ſlave trade, and
neither hire veſſels, nor ſell commodities or manufactures to
any concerned in that trade.——3. That from the preſent —— 3.
date, they will uſe no tea on which a duty had been or ſhall
be paid; nor after the firſt of March enſuing, any Eaſt-India
tea whatever, nor any Britiſh goods, imported after the firſt
of December, except ſuch as come under the rules and direc-
tions which we ſhall ſee in the 10th article.——4. By this ar- —— 4.
ticle, the non-exportation agreement is ſuſpended to the 10th
of September, 1775; after which day, if the acts of parlia-
ment which they had before recited are not repealed, all ex-
portation is to ceaſe, except that of rice, to Europe.——5. —— 5.
The *Britiſh* merchants are exhorted not to ſhip goods in vio-
lation of this aſſociation, under penalty of their never holding
any commercial intercourſe with thoſe that act otherwiſe.—6. —— 6.
Owners of ſhips are warned to give ſuch orders to their cap-
tains, as will effectually prevent their receiving any of thoſe
goods that are prohibited.——7. They agree to improve the —— 7.
breed of ſheep, and to increaſe their number, to the greateſt
poſſible extent.——8. This article tends to encourage fruga- —— 8.
lity, œconomy, and induſtry; to promote agriculture, arts,
and manufactures; to diſcountenance all expenſive ſhows,
games and entertainments; to leſſen the expences of fune-
rals; to diſcontinue the giving of gloves and ſcarfs, and the
wearing

1774. wearing of any other mourning than a piece of crape or ribbon.——9. Venders of goods are to sell them at the usual
—— 9. prices, without taking any advantage of the present situation
—— 10. of affairs.——10. This article seems in a certain degree to soften the rigour of the first, and permits a conditional importation for two months longer, at the option of the owner; who, if he will deliver up any goods that he imports before the 1st. Feb. to the committee of the place that they arrive at, they are to be sold under their inspection, and the prime cost being returned to the importer, the profits are to be applied to the relief of the sufferers at Boston. All goods that arrive after that day, to be sent back without landing, or
11, 12, breaking any of the packages.—— The three following arti-
13. cles, relative to the appointing of committees, to prevent any violation of the foregoing, and to publish the names of the violaters in the Gazette, as foes to the rights, and enemies to the liberty of British America; they also regulate the sale of domestic manufactures, that they may be disposed of at reasonable prices, and no undue advantages taken of a future
—— 14. scarcity of goods.——By the 14th and last article, any colony or province, which shall not accede to, or which shall hereafter violate the association, is branded as inimical to the liberties of their country; and all dealings or intercourse whatever with such colony is interdicted.

This association was subscribed by all the members of the congress; and the foregoing resolutions were all marked, *nemine contradicente*. They afterwards resolved, that a congress should be held in the same place, on the 10th day of the following May, unless the redress of grievances, which they have desired, should be obtained before that time; and they recommended to all the colonies to chuse deputies, as soon as possible, for that purpose. They also, in their own names, and in the behalf of all those whom they represented, declared their most grateful acknowledgments, to those truly noble, honourable, and patriotic advocates of civil and religious liberty, who had so generously and powerfully, though unsuccessfully, espoused and defended the cause of America, both in and out of parliament.

They then proceeded to frame a petition to his majesty; a memorial to the people of Great-Britain; an address to the colonies in general; and another to the inhabitants of the province of Quebec. The petition to his majesty contained an enumeration of their grievances; among which are the following, *viz.* The keeping of a standing army in the colonies in time of peace, without the consent of the assem-

Petition to the King.

blies;

blies; and the employing of that army, and of a naval force, to enforce the payment of taxes.—The authority of the commander in chief, and of the brigadiers general, being rendered ſupreme in all the civil governments in America.—The commander in chief of the forces, in time of peace, appointed governor of a colony ——The charges of uſual offices greatly increaſed, and new, expenſive, and oppreſſive offices, multiplied.—The judges of the admiralty-courts impowered to receive their ſalaries and fees from the effects condemned by themſelves, and the officers of the cuſtoms to break open and enter houſes, without the authority of the civil magiſtrate.—The judges rendered intirely dependent on the crown for their ſalaries, as well as for the duration of their commiſſions.—Counſellors, who exerciſe legiſlative authority, holding their commiſſions during pleaſure.——Humble and reaſonable petitions from the repreſentatives of the people fruitleſs.——The agents of the people diſcountenanced, and inſtructions given to prevent the payment of their ſalaries; aſſemblies repeatedly and injuriouſly diſſolved; commerce burthened with uſeleſs and oppreſſive reſtrictions. 1774.

They then enumerate the ſeveral acts of parliament paſſed in the preſent reign for the purpoſe of raiſing a revenue in the colonies, and of extending the powers of admiralty and vice-admiralty courts beyond their ancient limits; whereby their property is taken from them without their conſent, the trial by jury, in many civil caſes aboliſhed, enormous forfeitures incurred for ſlight offences; vexatious informers are exempted from paying damages, to which they are juſtly liable, and oppreſſive ſecurity is required from owners before they are allowed to defend their right.

They complain of the parliamentary vote for reviving the ſtatute of the 35th Henry VIIIth, and extending its influence to the coloniſts; and of the ſtatute of the 12th of his preſent majeſty, whereby the inhabitants of the colonies may, in ſundry caſes, by that ſtatute made capital, be deprived of a trial by their peers of the vicinage. They then recite the three acts of the preceding ſeſſion, relative to Boſton and the province of Maſſachuſett's-Bay; the Quebec act, and the act for providing quarters for the troops in North America.

The petition repeatedly contains the ſtrongeſt expreſſions of loyalty, of affectionate attachment and duty to the ſovereign, of love and veneration for the parent ſtate; they attributed theſe their ſentiments to the liberties they inherited from their anceſtors, and the conſtitution under which they

1774. were bred; while the neceſſity which compelled was the apology for delivering them.——They at the ſame time promiſed themſelves a favourable reception and hearing from a ſovereign, whoſe illuſtrious family owed their empire to ſimilar principles.

They declare, that from the deſtructive ſyſtem of colony adminiſtration, adopted ſince the concluſion of the laſt war, have flowed thoſe diſtreſſes, dangers, fears and jealouſies, which overwhelm the colonies with affliction; and they defy their moſt ſubtle and inveterate enemies to trace the unhappy differences between G. Britain and them from an earlier period, or from other cauſes than they have aſſigned. That they aſk but for peace, liberty, and ſafety; they wiſh not for a diminution of the prerogative, nor do they ſolicit the grant of any new right in their favour; the royal authority over them, and their connection with Great Britain, they ſhall always carefully and zealouſly endeavour to ſupport and maintain. That, "appealing to that Being who ſearches thoroughly the hearts of his creatures, they ſolemnly profeſs, that their councils have been influenced by no other motive than a dread of impending deſtruction."

They conclude by imploring his majeſty, in the name of all America, and a ſolemn adjuration by all that is ſacred and awful, that,—"for his glory, which can be advanced only by rendering his ſubjects happy, and keeping them united; for the intereſts of his family, depending in an adherence to the principle that enthroned it; for the ſafety and welfare of his kingdoms and dominions, threatened with almoſt unavoidable dangers and diſtreſſes; that, as the loving father of his whole people, connected by the ſame bands of law, loyalty, faith, and blood, though dwelling in various countries, he will not ſuffer the tranſcendant relation formed by theſe ties, to be further violated in uncertain expectation of effects, which, if attained, never can compenſate for the calamities through which they muſt be gained."

This petition was ſubſcribed by all the delegates.

Memorial to the people of G. Brita.

In the memorial to the people of this country, they pay the higheſt praiſe to the noble and generous virtues of their and our common anceſtors; but they do it in a manner, that inſtead of reflecting any comparative honour on the preſent generation in this iſland, rather reproaches us with a ſhameful degeneracy. They afterwards ſay, that born to the ſame rights, liberties, and conſtitution, tranſmitted to them from the ſame anceſtors, guarantied to them by the plighted faith of government, and the moſt ſolemn compacts with Britiſh

ſovereigns,

ſovereigns, it is no wonder they ſhould refuſe to ſurrender them to men, whoſe claims are not founded on any principles of reaſon, "and who proſecute them with a deſign, "that, by having their lives and property in their power, "they might with the greateſt facility enſlave us."—They complain of being oppreſſed, abuſed, and miſrepreſented; and ſay, that the duty they owe to themſelves and to their poſterity, to our intereſt, and to the general welfare of the Britiſh empire, leads them to addreſs us on this very important ſubject. 1774.

After complaining of grievances in the ſtyle and ſubſtance of the petition, they recall the happy ſtate of the empire on both ſides of the Atlantic, previous to the concluſion of the late war; and ſtate the advantages which we derived, and to which they willingly ſubmitted, from the ſyſtem of colony government then purſued; they ſay, they looked up to us as to their parent ſtate, to which they were bound by the ſtrongeſt ties; and were happy in being inſtrumental to our poſterity and grandeur. They call upon ourſelves to witneſs their loyalty and attachment to the common intereſts of the whole empire: their efforts in the laſt war: their embarking to meet diſeaſe and death in foreign and inhoſpitable climates, to promote the ſucceſs of our arms; and our own acknowledgments of their zeal, and our even reimburſing them large ſums of money, which we confeſſed they had advanced beyond their proportion, and far beyond their abilities.

They aſk to what cauſes they are to attribute the ſudden change of treatment, and that ſyſtem of ſlavery, which was prepared for them at the reſtoration of peace; they trace the hiſtory of taxation from that time, and aſſert, that thoſe exactions, inſtead of being applied to any uſeful purpoſe, either for this country or that, have been laviſhly ſquandered upon court favourites and miniſterial dependants; that they ever were, and ever ſhall be ready to provide for the neceſſary ſupport of their own government; and whenever the exigencies of the ſtate may require it, they ſhall, as they have heretofore done, chearfully contribute their full proportion of men and money.

They then proceed to ſtate and examine the meaſures and the ſeveral acts of parliament, which they conſider as hoſtile to America, and ſubverſive of their rights; or, in their words, the progreſſion of the miniſterial plan for enſlaving them.——They repreſent the probable conſequences to this country of a perſeverance in that ſcheme, even ſuppoſing it

1774. attended with ſucceſs; addition to the national debt; increaſe of taxes; and a diminution of commerce, muſt attend it in the progreſs; and if we are at length victorious, in what condition ſhall we then be? What advantages, or what laurels ſhall we reap from ſuch a conqueſt?

They artfully endeavour to render theirs a cauſe common to both countries, by ſhewing that ſuch ſucceſs would, in the event, be as fatal to the liberties of England as to thoſe of America. They accordingly put the queſtion, May not a miniſter with the ſame armies that ſubdued them enſlave us? If to this it be anſwered, that we will ceaſe to pay thoſe armies, they pretend to ſhew, that America, reduced to ſuch a ſituation, would afford abundant reſources both of men and money for the purpoſe; nor ſhould we have any reaſon to expect, that after making ſlaves of them, they ſhould refuſe to aſſiſt in reducing us to the ſame abject ſtate.——— In a word, (they ſay,) "Take care that you do not fall "into the pit that is preparing for us."

After denying the ſeveral charges, of being ſeditious, impatient of government, and deſirous of independency, all of which they aſſert to be calumnies; they, however, declare, that if we are determined, that our miniſters ſhall wantonly ſport with the rights of mankind; if neither the voice of juſtice, the dictates of the law, the principles of the conſtitution, nor the ſuggeſtions of humanity, can reſtrain our hands from the ſhedding of human blood in ſuch an impious cauſe, they muſt tell us,—"That they never will ſubmit to be hewers of wood, or drawers of water, for any miniſtry or nation in the world."

They afterwards make a propoſal, which it were much to be wiſhed had been more attended to, as it affords at leaſt no unfavourable baſis for negociation.—"Place us," ſay they, "in the ſame ſituation that we were at the cloſe of the laſt war, and our former harmony will be reſtored."

They conclude this memorial, by expreſſing the deepeſt regret for the reſolutions they were obliged to enter into for the ſuſpenſion of commerce, as a meaſure detrimental to numbers of their fellow-ſubjects in Great-Britain and Ireland; they account and apologize for this conduct, by the over-ruling principles of ſelf-preſervation; by the ſupineneſs and inattention to our common intereſt, which we had ſhewn for ſeveral years; and by the attempt of the miniſtry, to influence a ſubmiſſion to their meaſures by deſtroying the trade of Boſton. "The like fate," they ſay, "may befal us all; we will endeavour, therefore, to live without trade, and

recur

recur for ſubſiſtance to the fertility and bounty of our native ſoil, which will afford us all the neceſſaries, and ſome of the conveniencies of life." They finally reſt their hopes of a reſtoration of that harmony, friendſhip, and fraternal affection, between all the inhabitants of his majeſty's kingdoms and territories, ſo ardently wiſhed for by every true American, upon the magnanimity and juſtice of the Britiſh nation, in furniſhing a parliament of ſuch wiſdom, independency, and public ſpirit, as may ſave the violated rights of the whole empire from the devices of wicked miniſters and evil counſellors, whether in or out of office. 1774.

Addreſs to the inhabitants of Canada.

Of all the papers publiſhed by the American congreſs, their addreſs to the French inhabitants of Canada diſcovers the moſt able method of application to the temper and paſſions of the parties, whom they endeavour to gain.—They ſtate the right they had, upon their becoming Engliſh ſubjects, to the ineſtimable benefits of the Engliſh conſtitution; that this right was further confirmed by the royal proclamation in the year 1763, plighting the public faith for their full enjoyment of thoſe advantages. They impute to ſucceeding miniſters an audacious and cruel abuſe of the royal authority, in withholding from them the fruition of the irrevocable rights, to which they were thus juſtly entitled.—That as they have lived to ſee the unexpected time, when miniſters of this flagitious temper have dared to violate the moſt ſacred compacts and obligations, and as the Canadians, educated under another form of government, have artfully been kept from diſcovering the unſpeakable worth of that, from which they are debarred, the congreſs think it their duty, for weighty reaſons, to explain to them ſome of its moſt important branches.

They then quote paſſages on government from the Marquis Beccari and their countryman Monteſquieu, the latter of whom they artfully adopt as a judge, and an irrefragable authority upon this occaſion, and proceed to ſpecify and explain, under ſeveral diſtinct heads, the principal rights to which the people are entitled by the Engliſh conſtitution; and theſe rights, they truly ſay, defend the poor from the rich, the weak from the powerful, the induſtrious from the rapacious, the peaceable from the violent, the tenants from the lords, and all from their ſuperiors.

They ſtate, that without theſe rights, a people cannot be free and happy; and that under their protecting and encouraging influence, the Engliſh colonies had hitherto ſo amazingly flouriſhed and increaſed. And, that theſe are the rights

1774. rights which a profligate miniſtry are now ſtriving by force of arms to raviſh from themſelves; and which they are, with one mind, reſolved never to reſign but with their lives.

They again remind the Canadians that they are entitled to theſe rights, and ought at this moment to be in the perfect exerciſe of them. They then aſk, what is offered to them by the late act of parliament in their place? And from thence proceed to a ſevere examination of the Quebec act; in which they attempt to ſhew, that it does not afford them, and has not left them a civil right or ſecurity of any kind; as every thing it ſeems to grant, and even the laws they poſſeſſed before, are liable to be altered and varied, and new laws or ordinances made, by a governor and council appointed by the crown, and conſequently, wholly dependent on, and removeable at the will of a miniſter in England; ſo that all the powers of legiſlation, as well as that of granting and applying the public ſupplies, and diſpoſing of their own property, being thus totally out of the hands and controul of the people, they are liable to the moſt abject ſlavery, and to live under the moſt deſpotic government in the univerſe.

After pretending to point out numberleſs deformities in that law, and placing them in ſuch points of view, as were ſufficient to render it odious to mankind, as well as hideous to the Canadians, they repreſent, as an inſult added to their injuries, the hopes upon which, they ſaid, it had been founded by the miniſter; he expecting, that through an invincible ſtupidity in them, and a total inability of comprehending the tendency of a law, which ſo materially affected their deareſt intereſts, they ſhould, in the exceſs of a miſtaken gratitude, take up arms, and incur the ridicule and deteſtation of the world, by becoming willing tools in his hands, to aſſiſt in ſubverting the rights and liberties of the other colonies; without their being capable of ſeeing, that the unavoidable conſequences of ſuch an attempt, if ſucceſsful, would be the extinction of all hopes to themſelves and their poſterity of being ever reſtored to freedom; "For idiotcy itſelf, (ſay they) cannot believe, that, when their drudgery is performed, they will treat you with leſs cruelty than they have us, who are of the ſame blood with themſelves."

They again apply to their paſſions, and partiality for their countrymen, by calling up the venerable Monteſquieu, and deſiring them to apply thoſe maxims, ſanctified by the authority of a name which all Europe reveres, to their own ſtate; they ſuppoſe him alive, and conſulted by the Canadi-

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ans as to the part they ſhould act in their preſent ſituation. 1774.
They are told (after expatiating on the ſubject of freedom and ſlavery) that they are only a ſmall people, compared with their numerous and powerful neighbours, who with open arms invite them into a fellowſhip; to ſeize the opportunity in their favour, which is not the work of man, but preſented by Providence itſelf; that it does not admit of a queſtion, whether it is more for their intereſt and happineſs, to have all the reſt of North America their unalterable friends, or their inveterate enemies; that as nature had joined their countries, let them alſo join their political intereſts; that they have been conquered into liberty, if they act as they ought; but that their doing otherwiſe will be attended with irremediable evils,

They endeavour to obviate the jealouſies and prejudices which might ariſe from the difference of their religious principles, by inſtancing the caſe of the Swiſs cantons, whoſe union is compoſed of Catholic and Proteſtant ſtates; who live in the utmoſt concord and peace with each other, and have been thereby enabled to defeat all attempts againſt their liberties. This inſtance, though perhaps the moſt appoſite that could have been brought for the purpoſe, would not, however, have borne the teſt of much examination.

They declare, that they do not require them to commence acts of hoſtility againſt the government of their common ſovereign; that they only invite them to conſult their own glory and welfare, and not to ſuffer themſelves to be inveigled or intimidated by infamous miniſters ſo far, as to become the inſtruments of their cruelty and deſpotiſm. They conclude by informing them, that the congreſs had, with univerſal pleaſure, and by a unanimous vote, reſolved, that they ſhould conſider the violation of their rights, by the act for altering the government of that province, as a violation of their own; and that they ſhould be invited to accede to their confederation, which had no other objects than the perfect ſecurity of the natural and civil rights of all the conſtituent members, according to their reſpective circumſtances, and the preſervation of a happy and laſting connection with Great-Britain, on the ſalutary and conſtitutional principles before mentioned.

In the addreſs to the colonies they inform them, that as in duty and juſtice bound, they have deliberately, diſpaſſionately, and impartially examined and conſidered all the meaſures that led to the preſent diſturbances; the exertions of both the legiſlative and executive powers of Great Britain, Addreſs to the Colonies.

1774. tain, on the one hand, and the conduct of the colonies on the other. That upon the whole, they find themſelves reduced to the diſagreeable alternative, of being ſilent and betraying the innocent, or of ſpeaking out and cenſuring thoſe they wiſh to revere. In making their choice of theſe diſtreſſing difficulties, they prefer the courſe dictated by honeſty, and a regard for the welfare of their country.

After ſtating and examining the ſeveral laws that were paſſed, and the meaſures purſued with reſpect to America, from the year 1764, to the preſent period, (1774), they enquire into the motives for the particular hoſtility carried on againſt the town of Boſton, and province of Maſſachuſett's Bay, though the behaviour of the people in other colonies, had been in equal oppoſition to the power aſſumed by parliament, and yet no ſtep whatever had been taken againſt any of them by government. This they repreſent as an artful ſyſtematic line of conduct, concealing among others the following deſigns: 1ſt, That it was expected, that the province of Maſſachuſett's would be irritated into ſome violent action, that might diſpleaſe the reſt of the continent, or that might induce the people of England to approve the meditated vengeance of an imprudent and exaſperated miniſtry. If the unexampled pacific temper of that province ſhould diſappoint that part of the plan, it was in that caſe hoped, that the other colonies would be ſo far intimidated, as to deſert their brethren, ſuffering in a common cauſe, and that thus diſunited, all might be eaſily ſubdued.

After examining the Quebec act, and pretending to aſſign the motives on which it was founded, they ſay, that from this detail of facts, as well as from authentic intelligence, it is clear, beyond a doubt, that a reſolution is formed, and now is carrying into execution, to extinguiſh the freedom of the colonies, by ſubjecting them to a deſpotic government.

They then proceed to ſtate the importance of the truſt which was repoſed in them, and the manner in which they have diſcharged it. Upon this occaſion, they ſay, that tho' the ſtate of the colonies would certainly juſtify other meaſures than thoſe which they have adviſed; yet they have, for weighty reaſons, given the preference to thoſe which they have adopted. Theſe reaſons are, that it is conſiſtent with the character which the colonies have always ſuſtained, to perform, even in the midſt of the unnatural diſtreſſes and imminent dangers that ſurround them, every act of loyalty; and therefore they were induced to offer once more to his Majeſty the petitions of his faithful and oppreſſed ſubjects in America.

America.—Then from a ſenſe of their tender affection for the people of the kingdom from which they derive their original, they could not forbear to regulate their ſteps by an expectation of receiving full conviction that the coloniſts are equally dear to them. That they ardently wiſh the ſocial band between that body and the colonies may never be diſſolved; and that it cannot, until the minds of the former ſhall become indiſputably hoſtile, or their inattention ſhall permit thoſe who are thus hoſtile to perſiſt in proſecuting, with the powers of the realm, the deſtructive meaſures already operating againſt the coloniſts; and, in either caſe, ſhall reduce the latter to ſuch a ſituation, that they ſhall be compelled to renounce every guard but that of ſelf-preſervation.—That, notwithſtanding the vehemence with which affairs have been impelled, they have not yet reached that fatal point; that they do not incline to accelerate their motion, already alarmingly rapid; and they have choſen a method of oppoſition that does not preſcude a hearty reconciliation with their fellow citizens on the other ſide of the Atlantic. 1774.

That, they deeply deplore the urgent neceſſity that preſſes them to an immediate interruption of commerce, which may prove injurious to their fellow-ſubjects in England; but truſt they will acquit them of any unkind intentions, by reflecting that they ſubject themſelves to ſimilar inconveniencies; that they are driven by the hands of violence into unexperienced and unexpected public convulſions; and that they are contending for freedom, ſo often contended for by their anceſtors.

They conclude by obſerving, that the people of England will ſoon have an opportunity of declaring their ſentiments concerning their cauſe. "That in their piety, generoſity, "and good ſenſe, they repoſe high confidence; and cannot, "upon a review of paſt events, be perſuaded that they, "the defenders of true religion, and the aſſertors of the "rights of mankind, will take part againſt their affectionate "Proteſtant brethren in the colonies, in favour of their "open and our own ſecret enemies, whoſe intrigues, for "ſeveral years paſt, have been wholly exerciſed in ſapping "the foundation of all civil and religious liberty."

The Congreſs breaks up Oct. 26th

Theſe public acts being paſſed, the delegates put an end to their ſeſſion, on the 52d day from the opening of the congreſs.

Without examining the truth of their allegations, or pretending to form any opinion upon a ſubject, on which the firſt names in this country have differed ſo widely, it muſt be

1774. be acknowledged, that the petition and addreſſes from the congreſs have been executed with uncommon energy, addreſs, and ability; and that conſidered abſtractedly, with reſpect to vigour of mind, ſtrength of ſentiment, and the language, at leaſt of patriotiſm, they would not have diſgraced any aſſembly that ever exiſted.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

State of Affairs at the opening of the new parliament, with ſome account of the two Fiſhery Bills paſſed in this ſeſſion.

1774.

State of affairs previous to the diſſolution of Parliament.

WHILST matters of this magnitude were tranſacting in America, an unexampled ſupineneſs, with regard to public affairs, prevailed among the great body of the people. Even the great commercial and manufacturing bodies, who muſt be the firſt to feel, and the laſt to lament any ſiniſter events in the colonies, and who are generally remarkable for a quick foreſight and provident ſagacity in whatever regards their intereſt, ſeemed now to be ſunk in the ſame careleſſneſs and inattention with the reſt of the people.

Several cauſes concurred to produce this apparent indifference. The colony conteſts were no longer new. From the year 1765, they had, with but few, and thoſe ſhort intermiſſions, engaged the attention of parliament. Moſt of the topics on the ſubject were exhauſted, and the vehement paſſions which accompanied them had ſubſided. The non-importation agreement, (by diviſions within the colonies, which, if not cauſed, were much forwarded by the conceſſions with regard to ſeveral of the taxes laid in 1767) had broken up, before it had produced any ſerious conſequences. Moſt people therefore flattered themſelves, that as things had appeared ſo very frequently at the verge of a rupture, without actually arriving at it, that now, as formerly, ſome means would be found for accommodating this diſpute. At worſt it was conceived, that the Americans would themſelves grow tired. And as an opinion was circulated with ſome induſtry and ſucceſs, that a countenance of reſolution, if perſevered in for ſome time, would certainly put an end to the conteſt, which (it was ſaid) had been nouriſhed wholly by former conceſſions, people were in general inclined to leave the trial of the effects of perſeverance and reſolution, to a miniſtry who valued themſelves on thoſe qualities. All theſe things had hitherto indiſpoſed the body of the nation from taking part in the ſanguine manner they had hitherto done on other ſubjects, and formerly on this. From theſe cauſes, adminiſtration being totally diſengaged at home, was at full leiſure to proſecute the meaſures which

1774. which it had deſigned againſt America, or to adopt ſuch new ones, as the oppoſition there rendered neceſſary towards carrying the new laws into execution. The times indeed were highly favourable to any purpoſe, which only required the concurrence of that parliament, and the acquieſcence of the people.

Notwithſtanding theſe favourable circumſtances on the one ſide, and that general indifference which prevailed on the other, it was not totally forgotten by either, that the time for a general election was approaching, and that the parliament had but one ſeſſion more to compleat its allotted term.

Nov. 30, The new Parliament meets. On the meeting of this new parliament, Sir Fletcher Norton, was, without oppoſition, appointed Speaker. In the ſpeech from the throne, the two houſes were informed, that a moſt daring ſpirit of reſiſtance and diſobedience to the law ſtill unhappily prevailed in the province of Maſſachuſett's-Bay, and had, in divers parts of it, broke forth in freſh violences of a very criminal nature; that theſe proceedings had been countenanced and encouraged in others of the colonies, and unwarrantable attempts made to obſtruct the commerce of this kingdom, by unlawful combinations; that ſuch meaſures had been taken, and ſuch orders given, as were judged moſt proper and effectual for carrying into execution the laws which were paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion of the late parliament, for the protection and ſecurity of commerce, and for reſtoring and preſerving peace, order, and good government, in the province of Maſſuchuſett's-Bay; that they might depend upon a firm and ſtedfaſt reſolution to withſtand every attempt to weaken or impair the ſupreme authority of this legiſlature over all the dominions of the crown, the maintenance of which was conſidered as eſſential to the dignity, the ſafety, and welfare of the Britiſh empire; his majeſty being aſſured of receiving their aſſiſtance and ſupport while acting upon theſe principles.

Speech from the throne.

Addreſs. An addreſs, in the uſual form, having been moved for, an amendment was propoſed, on the ſide of oppoſition, "That his Majeſty would be graciouſly pleaſed to communicate the whole intelligence he had received from America to the houſe, as well as the letters, orders, and inſtructions, upon that buſineſs." The propoſal for this amendment was productive of ſome conſiderable debate, as well as of a diviſion. The minority was but 13 to 63 on the diviſion. It was rendered memorable by the circumſtance of having produced a proteſt, the firſt we remember to have heard of upon an addreſs, and that too very ſtrong and pointed.

Amendment propoſed.

Debates.

Proteſt.

The anſwer from the throne to this addreſs, beſides the uſual

ual thanks, contained an assurance of taking the most speedy and effectual measures, for enforcing due obedience to the laws and authority of the supreme legislature; together with a declaration, that whenever any of the colonies should make a proper and dutiful application, his Majesty would be ready to concur in affording them every just and reasonable indulgence; and concluded with an earnest wish, that this disposition might have an happy effect on their temper and conduct. 1775. Answer.

This answer was accompanied with a message to the Commons, in which they were informed, that as it was determined, in consequence of the address, to take the most speedy and effectual measures for supporting the just rights of the crown, and the two houses of parliament, some augmentation to the forces by sea and land would be necessary for that purpose. This message was referred, as usual, to the committee of supply. Message from the throne for an augmentation of the forces.

While measures were thus taking to apply a military force to the cure of the disorders in America, other means were thought necessary to come in aid of this expedient. The military force might indeed coerce and punish the disobedient, and effectually support the magistrate in case of insurrection; but how to get the body of magistracy to act, or any sufficient number upon ordinary occasions to engage heartily in their cause, did not appear. The change in the charter of Massachussett's-Bay had not produced the desired effect. Even if it should, the inferior magistrates must evidently be taken in the country; sheriffs, constables, select men, grand and petty juries, must be aiding to the higher magistrates, or nothing could be done; and the idea of having troops in every parish would be ridiculous. The coercive plan being therefore still relied on, it was proposed to chuse a punishment so universal, as by the inconveniencies which every man felt, would interest every man in procuring obedience and submission to the late acts of parliament. For this reason the minister moved for leave to bring in a bill to restrain the trade and commerce of the provinces of Massachusett's Bay, and New Hampshire, the colonies of Connecticut and Rhode island, and Providence Plantation, in North America, to Great-Britain, Ireland, and the British islands in the West-Indies; and to prohibit such provinces and colonies from carrying on any fishery on the banks of Newfoundland, or other places therein to be mentioned, under certain conditions, and for a limited time. Feb. 10, 1775. Fishery bill brought in.

On the 21 of March, upon the third reading of this bill, a motion was made for an amendment, that the colonies of New- The bill returned,

1775. New-Jerſey, Penſylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina, ſhould be included in the ſame reſtrictions with the New-England provinces. On this amendment the queſtion being put, it was carried by 52 to 21; and the prohibitions of the bill conſequently extended to the five new provinces. The queſtion was then put upon the bill, and carried by a majority of 73 to 21; and it was accordingly returned to the Commons with the amendment; but this houſe objecting to it, as cauſing a diſagreement between the title and body of the bill, (which would have cauſed great embarraſſment to the officers who were to carry it into execution) a conference was held, in a few days after, between the two Houſes, at which the reaſons offered by the Commons, having appeared ſatisfactory, the Lords agreed in rejecting the amendment; and the bill received the royal aſſent on the 30th of March.

with the amendment to the Commons.

They object to the amendment.

The bill receives the royal aſſent.

This bill was productive of a proteſt ſigned by ſixteen lords. Among other ſevere ſtrictures, they repreſented it as one of thoſe unhappy inventions, to which parliament is driven by the difficulties that daily multiply upon them, from an obſtinate adherence to an unwiſe ſyſtem of government. They ſay, that government which attempts to preſerve its authority by deſtroying the trade of its ſubjects, and by involving the innocent and guilty in a common ruin, if it acts from a choice of ſuch means, confeſſes itſelf unworthy; if from inability to find any other, admits itſelf wholly incompetent to the end of its inſtitution. They ſeverely cenſure the attempt made to bribe the nation into an acquieſcence in this arbitrary act, by holding out to them, as a temptation for that purpoſe, the ſpoils of the New-England fiſhery; this they repreſent to be a ſcheme full of weakneſs and indecency; of indecency, becauſe it may be ſuſpected that the deſire of the confiſcation has created the guilt; and of weakneſs, becauſe it ſuppoſes, that whatever is taken from the colonies, is of courſe to be transferred to ourſelves.

Proteſt.

Mar. 9th

Another Fiſhery-bill.

The Fiſhery-bill had ſcarcely cleared the Houſe of Commons, when the miniſter brought in another, "To reſtrain the trade and commerce of the colonies of New Jerſey, Penſylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina, to Great-Britain, Ireland, and the Britiſh iſlands in the Weſt-Indies, under certain conditions and limitations." As meaſures of this nature were now familiar, he only thought it neceſſary to obſerve, that as the ſouthern provinces had acceded to the non-importation and non-exportation agreement, as well as the northern, it was conformable to reaſon and juſtice that they ſhould equally feel our reſentment, and experience the

he ſame degree of puniſhment. The matter of this bill, being formerly diſcuſſed, the debate at the third reading was not long, nor the attendance conſiderable on the part of the minority. The bill paſſed without difficulty. 1775. Apr. 5th.

During the paſſing of theſe two additional American bills, ſeveral conciliatory ones were offered by L. Chatham, and other lords in the minority; alſo petitions from the city of London and ſeveral manufacturing towns in Great-britain and Ireland. Some counter petitions were alſo received, calling for an enforcement of the laws of Great-Britain as the only means of preſerving a trade with the colonies, and aſſerting that the trade hitherto had ſuffered none, or an inconſiderable diminution by the combination of the Americans. Much altercation aroſe on the truth of facts alledged on both ſides, as well as on the manner of obtaining the ſignatures, and the quality of thoſe who ſigned. The minority inſiſted, that the moſt who ſigned theſe *war petitions* (as they called them) were perſons of none or a remoter intereſt in the American trade; but of that deſcription of warm and active party-men commonly called Tories.— To prove the truth of the former part of their aſſertion, they entered into ſeveral examinations, which produced many long and hot debates.

The coercive plan for ſubjugating America being thus finiſhed, this remarkable ſeſſion was cloſed by a ſpeech from the Speaker to his Majeſty, ſtating the heavineſs of the grants, (the Money-bills which had juſt received the royal aſſent) which nothing but the particular exigencies of the times could juſtify in a ſeaſon of profound peace; he, however, gave an aſſurance, that if the Americans ſhould perſiſt in their reſolutions, and the ſword muſt be drawn, his faithful Commons would do every thing in their power to maintain and ſupport the ſupremacy of this legiſlature, and concluded, that the money now raiſed, ſhould be faithfully applied to the purpoſes for which it was appropriated.

In the ſpeech from the throne, the moſt perfect ſatisfaction in their conduct, during the courſe of this important ſeſſion, was expreſſed. It was ſaid, that they had maintained, with a firm and ſteady reſolution, the rights of the crown and the authority of parliament, which ſhould ever be conſidered as inſeparable; that they had protected and promoted the commercial intereſts of theſe kingdoms; and they had, at the ſame time, given convincing proofs of their readineſs (as far as the conſtitution would allow them) to gratify the wiſhes, and remove the apprehenſions of the ſubjects in America. May, 26.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

State of affairs in America during the ſitting of Parliament.—Continued from the breaking up of the general Congreſs, in Oct. 26, 1774, *to the re-aſſembling of that body in May* 10, 1775.

1774. DURING theſe tranſactions at home, affairs were every day becoming more dangerous in America. Whatever heſitation might before have operated with the timid, or principles of caution and prudence with the moderate, they were now all removed by the determinations of the general congreſs. Theſe became immediately the political creed of the colonies, and a perfect compliance with their reſolutions was every where determined upon, as ſoon as the general ſenſe of the people could be obtained. The unanimity which prevailed throughout the continent was amazing. The ſame language was held by town and provincial meetings, by general aſſemblies, by judges in their charges, and by grand juries in their preſentments; and all their acts tended to the ſame point. It was a new and wonderful thing to ſee the inhabitants of rich and great commercial countries, who had acquired a long eſtabliſhed habitual reliſh for the ſuperfluities and luxuries of foreign nations, all at once determined to abandon thoſe captivating allurements, and to reſtrain themſelves to bare neceſſities. It was ſcarcely an object of greater admiration, that the merchant ſhould forego the advantages of commerce, the farmer ſubmit to the loſs of the ſale of his products and the benefits of his induſtry, and the ſeaman, with the numberleſs other perſons dependant upon trade, contentedly reſign the very means of livelihood, and truſt to a precarious ſubſiſtence from the public ſpirit or charity of the opulent. Such however was the ſpectacle, which America at that time, and ſtill in ſome degree, exhibited to the world.

Great hopes were however placed on the ſucceſs of the petition from the continental congreſs to the throne. Nor was it ſuppoſed, that their general application to the people of England would have been unproductive of effect. A ſtill greater reliance was not unreaſonably placed upon the effect which the unanimity and determinations of the congreſs would

would produce, in influencing publick opinions and measures at home. 1774.

These hopes and opinions had for a time a considerable effect in restraining those violences which afterwards took place. But however well they might seem to be founded, and however general their operation, the principal leaders, and most experienced men, did not appear to build much upon them, and accordingly made some preparations for the worst that might happen. The Southern colonies began to arm as well as the Northern, and to train and exercise their militia; and as soon as advice was received of the proclamation issued in England to prevent the exportation of arms and ammunition to America, measures were speedily taken to remedy the defect. For this purpose, and to render themselves as independent as possible of foreigners for the supply of those essential articles, mills were erected, and manufactories formed both in Philadelphia and Virginia, for the making of gunpowder, and encouragement given in all the colonies for the fabrication of arms of every sort. Great difficulties however attended these beginnings; and the supply of powder, both from the home manufacture and the importation, was for a long time scanty and precarious. Warlike preparations.

The Governor's proclamation against the provincial congress in Massachusett's Bay, had not the smallest effect, either upon the proceedings of that assembly, or the conduct of the people, who paid an implicit obedience to its determinations. As expresses continually passed between that body and the general congress, no doubt can be entertained, that its measures were regulated by their opinion. The critical situation of the capital was an object of much consideration; nor was it easy to determine in what manner to provide for the safety of the inhabitants, and to prevent its becoming a sore thorn in the side of the province, if matters should proceed to extremity. From its natural advantages of situation, with the works thrown up on the Neck, Boston was already become a very strong hold; and was capable, with little difficulty, of being rendered a place of such strength, as, under the protection of a navy, would leave but little hope of its being ever reduced. From the same causes it was liable to be converted, at the discretion of the Governor, into a secure prison for the inhabitants, who would thereby become hostages for the conduct of the province at large.

Different proposals were said to be made to prevent or remedy these evils. One was, simply, to remove the inhabi-

1774. tants; another, to ſet a valuation upon their eſtates, burn the town, and reimburſe them for their loſſes. Both theſe ſchemes were found to be clogged with ſo many difficulties as rendered them impracticable. Force was the only expedient which could be applied with ſucceſs; but they did not as yet ſeem diſpoſed to proceed to that extremity. In the mean time, numbers of the principal inhabitants quitted the town, under the real or pretended apprehenſion of immediate violence from the troops, or of being kidnapped and ſent to England, to ſtand trial for ſuppoſed offences.

The provincial congreſs, having done all the buſineſs that was thought proper or neceſſary for the preſent, diſſolved themſelves towards the end of November, having firſt appointed another meeting to be held in the enſuing month of February. This ceſſation afforded an opportunity to the friends of government, or loyaliſts, as they now called themſelves, to ſhew themſelves in a few places; to try their ſtrength and numbers, and to endeavour to reſiſt the general current. Some aſſociations for mutual defence were accordingly formed, and a refuſal was made, in a few towns, to comply with the reſolutions of the provincial congreſs; but the contrary ſpirit was ſo prevalent, that thoſe attempts were ſoon quelled. The diſſentients were overwhelmed by numbers. All theſe attempts came to nothing.

Ordnance ſeized in Rhode Iſland.

As ſoon as an account was received at Rhode Iſland, of the prohibition on the exportation of military ſtores from Great-Britain, the people ſeized upon and removed all the ordnance belonging to the crown in that province, which lay upon ſome batteries that defended one of the harbours, and amounted to above forty pieces of cannon of different ſizes. A captain of a man of war, having waited upon the governor to enquire into the meaning of this procedure, was informed, with great frankneſs, that the people had ſeized the cannon to prevent their falling into the hands of the king's forces; and that they meant to make uſe of them to defend themſelves againſt any power that ſhould offer to moleſt them. The aſſembly of that iſland alſo paſſed reſolutions for the procuring of arms and military ſtores, by every means, and from every quarter in which they could be obtained, as well as for training and arming the inhabitants.

The province of New Hampſhire had hitherto preſerved a greater degree of moderation than any other of the New England governments. As ſoon, however, as intelligence arrived of the tranſactions at Rhode Iſland, with a copy of their reſolutions, and of the royal proclamation which gave riſe

riſe to them, a ſimilar ſpirit operated upon that people. A body of men accordingly aſſembled in arms, and marched to the attack of a ſmall fort, called William and Mary, conſiderable only for being the object of the firſt movement in the province. This was eaſily taken, and ſupplied them with a quantity of powder, by which they were enabled to put themſelves into a ſtate of defence. 1774. Dec. 14, A fort taken, & powder ſeized in New-Hampſhire.

No other acts of extraordinary violence took place during the winter. A firm determination of reſiſtance, was, however, univerſally ſpread, and grew the ſtronger by the arrival of the King's ſpeech, and the addreſſes of the new parliament; which ſeemed, in the opinion of the Americans, nearly to cut off all hopes of reconciliation. It is remarkable that all the acts and public declarations, which here were recommended as the means of pacifying, by intimidating that people, conſtantly produced the contrary effect. The more clearly a determination was ſhewn to enforce an high authority, the more ſtrenuouſly the coloniſts ſeemed determined to reſiſt it. The aſſembly of Penſylvania, which met by adjournment towards the cloſe of the year, was the firſt legal convention which unanimouſly approved of and ratified all the acts of the general congreſs, and appointed delegates to repreſent them in the new congreſs, which was to be held in the enſuing month of May.

Reſolutions of the G. C. approved of in different places

The proceedings were ſimilar in other places, whether tranſacted by the aſſemblies, or by provincial conventions of deputies. The convention of Maryland appointed a ſum of money for the purchaſe of arms and ammunition. A provincial convention, which was held at Philadelphia in the latter end of January, paſſed a number of reſolutions for the encouragement of the moſt neceſſary manufactures within themſelves; among which, ſalt, gunpowder, ſaltpetre, and ſteel, were particularly recommended. They alſo paſſed a reſolution, in which they declared it to be their moſt earneſt wiſh and deſire to ſee harmony reſtored between Great Britain and the colonies; and that they would exert their utmoſt endeavours for the attainment of that moſt deſirable object. But that if the humble and loyal petition of the congreſs to his Majeſty ſhould be diſregarded, and the Britiſh adminiſtration, inſtead of redreſſing their grievances ſhould determine by force to effect a ſubmiſſion to the late arbitrary acts of parliament, in ſuch a ſituation they hold it their indiſpenſable duty to reſiſt ſuch force, and at every hazard to defend the rights and liberties of America.

1775. Jan. 10th. Rejected at New-York.

The aſſembly of New-York, which met in the beginning of the year, was, however, a ſingle exception to the reſt of the continent. In this aſſembly, after very conſiderable debates upon the queſtion of acceding to the reſolutions of the general congreſs, it was rejected upon a diviſion, though by a very ſmall majority. They afterwards proceeded to ſtate the public grievances, with an intention of laying them before the king and parliament; a mode of application in which they were much encouraged by the lieutenant-governor, and from which they preſaged the happieſt effects, flattering themſelves, that when all other means had failed of ſucceſs, they ſhould have the laſting honour of procuring a thorough reconciliation between the mother country and the colonies: a hope, however fruitleſs, which probably had a great effect in their late determination. It was alſo ſaid, that this method had been ſuggeſted to them from authority in England. They accordingly drew up that petition to the king, memorial to the lords, and repreſentation and remonſtrance to the commons, the inefficacy of which we have already ſeen.

Feb. 1ſt. Proceedings of the new provincial Congreſs in Maſſachuſett's Bay.

The new provincial congreſs, which met at Cambridge, in Maſſachuſett's Bay, did not deviate from the line which had been chalked out by their predeceſſors. Among other reſolutions they publiſhed one, to inform the people, that from the preſent diſpoſition of the Britiſh miniſtry and parliament, there was real cauſe to fear, that the reaſonable and juſt applications of that continent to Great Britain for peace, liberty, and ſafety, would not meet with a favourable reception; but, on the contrary, from the large reinforcement of troops expected in that colony, the tenor of intelligence from Great Britain, and general appearances, they have reaſon to apprehend, that the ſudden deſtruction of that colony in particular was intended, for refuſing, with the other American colonies, tamely to ſubmit to, what they termed, the moſt ignominious ſlavery.

They therefore urged, in the ſtrongeſt terms, the militia in general, and the *minute men* in particular, to ſpare neither time, pains, nor expence, at ſo critical a juncture, in perfecting themſelves forthwith in military diſcipline. They paſſed other reſolutions for the providing and making of firearms and bayonets; and renewed more ſtrictly the prohibition of their predeceſſors, againſt ſupplying the troops at Boſton with any of thoſe neceſſaries which are peculiarly requiſite for the military ſervice; the markets at Boſton being ſtill open to the ſupply of proviſions. As we have made uſe of

of a term which has hitherto been unknown in military tranſactions, it may require ſome explanation. By *minute men* are to be underſtood a ſelect number of the militia, who undertake to hold themſelves upon all occaſions, and at the ſhorteſt notice, in readineſs for actual ſervice. By their alertneſs they have ſince ſhewn that the name was not miſapplied. 1775.

A circular letter from the ſecretary of ſtate for the American department, forbidding, in the king's name, and under pain of his diſpleaſure, the election of deputies for the enſuing general congreſs, was productive of no manner of effect; the elections every where took place, even in the province of New-York, notwithſtanding the late reſolution in their aſſembly.

Things continued very quiet at Boſton. To which the injunctions of the different congreſſes perhaps contributed as much, as the ſhips of war that crowded the harbour, or the force that was ſtationed in the town. The calm was however precarious and fallacious on both ſides. Combuſtible matter had been gathered in abundance. More was in preparation, and the leaſt ſpark was likely to kindle a general conflagration.

Governor Gage having received intelligence that ſome braſs cannon were depoſited in the town of Salem, ſent a detachment of troops under the command of a field officer, on board a tranſport, in order to ſeize upon and bring them to Boſton. The troops having landed at Marblehead, proceeded to Salem, where they were diſappointed as to finding the cannon; but having ſome reaſon to imagine they had been only removed that morning in conſequence of their approach, it induced them to march further into the country in hopes of overtaking them. In this purſuit they arrived at a draw-bridge over a ſmall river, where a number of the country people were aſſembled, and thoſe on the oppoſite ſide had taken up the bridge to prevent their paſſage. The commanding officer ordered the bridge to be let down, which the people peremptorily refuſed, ſaying, that it was a private road, and that he had no authority to demand a paſſage that way. For to the laſt moment the language of peace was preſerved, and until the ſword was deciſively drawn, all reſiſtance was carried on upon ſome legal ground. Upon this refuſal, the officer determined to make uſe of a boat, thereby to gain poſſeſſion of the bridge; but the country people perceiving his intention, ſeveral of them jumped into the boat with axes, and cut holes thro' her bottom, which occaſioned ſome ſcuf-

Feb. 26. Detachments ſent to ſeize on ſome cannon at Salem.

Diſpute at a draw bridge.

fle

1775. fle between them and the ſoldiers in and about the boat. Things were now tending to extremities, as the commander ſeemed determined to force his paſſage, and the others as reſolutely bent to prevent it. In this ſituation, a neighbouring clergyman, who had attended the whole tranſaction, remonſtrated with the lieutenant-colonel, upon the fatal conſequences which would inevitably attend his making uſe of force. And finding that the point of military honour, with reſpect to making good his paſſage, was the principal object with that gentleman, it being then too late in the evening to proſecute his original deſign, he prevailed upon the people to let down the bridge, which the troops took poſſeſſion of; and the colonel having puſhed a detachment a little way into the country, in exerciſe of the right which he aſſumed, they immediately after returned, without moleſtation, on board the tranſport. Thus ended this firſt expedition, without effect, and happily without miſchief. Enough appeared to ſhew upon what a ſlender thread the peace of the empire hung; and that the leaſt exertion of the military would certainly bring things to extremities. The people, ſince the acts for caſting away their charter, and for protecting the ſoldiery from any trial in the province, conſidered themſelves as put under military government. Every motion of that body became ſuſpected, and was in their eyes an exertion of the moſt odious and moſt dreadful tyranny.

This appearance of reſiſtance ſeems, on the other ſide, to have greatly irritated the military, for from this time they appear to have lived upon worſe terms with the inhabitants of Boſton than they had hitherto done; ſome general and wanton inſults, as well as particular outrages having been complained of. But the criſis was now faſt approaching, in which all her leſſer evils and calamities were to be loſt and forgotten in the contemplation of thoſe of a great and ſerious nature.

Affair at Lexington and Concord.

The Provincials having collected a conſiderable quantity of military ſtores at the town of Concord, where the provincial congreſs was alſo held, General Gage thought it expedient to detach the grenadiers and light infantry of the army, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Smith, and major Pitcairn of the marines, in order to deſtroy them. It is ſaid and believed, that this expedition had another object in view, which was to ſeize on the perſons of Meſſrs. Hancock and Adams, thoſe great and obnoxious leaders of the faction which oppoſed the new ſyſtem of government. The

Apr. 18. detachment, which was ſuppoſed to conſiſt of about 900 men,

men, embarked at Boſton on the night preceding the 19th of April, and having gone a little way up Charles river, landed at a place called Phipps's Farm, from whence they proceeded with great ſilence and expedition towards Concord. Several officers on horſe back in the mean time ſcoured the roads, and ſecured ſuch country people as they chanced to meet with at that early time. Notwithſtanding theſe precautions, they diſcovered, by the firing of guns and the ringing of bells, that the country was alarmed, and the people actually began to aſſemble in the neighbouring towns and villages before day-light. 1775.

Upon their arrival at Lexington, about five in the morning, they found the company of militia, belonging to that town, aſſembled on a green near the road; upon which an officer in the van called out, *Diſperſe, you rebels: throw down your arms, and diſperſe*: the ſoldiers at the ſame time running up with loud huzzas, ſome ſcattering ſhots were firſt fired, and immediately ſucceeded by a general diſcharge, by which eight of the militia were killed and ſeveral wounded.

Thus was the firſt blood drawn in this unhappy civil conteſt. Great pains were taken on each ſide to ſhew the other to have been the aggreſſor upon this occaſion. A matter of little conſequence, in a political view, as things were now too far advanced to leave room for a probable hope of any other than ſuch a final iſſue. It was ſaid in the Gazette, that the troops were firſt upon from ſome neighbouring houſes. There is ſome obſcurity in this buſineſs, for it appears, from the general tenor of the evidence, as well as of ſome of our own people who were taken priſoners, as of a great number of the provincials, all whoſe depoſitions were regularly taken and atteſted by proper magiſtrates, that the firing both at Lexington and Concord was commenced by the troops. Indeed it ſeems evident, that a ſingle company of militia, ſtanding, as it may be ſaid under the muzzles of our ſoldiers guns, would have been ſufficient pledges to prevent any outrage from their friends and neighbours in the adjoining houſes.

After this execution, the detachment proceeded to Concord, the commanding officer having previouſly diſpatched ſix companies of light infantry to poſſeſs two bridges which lay at ſome diſtance beyond the town, probably with a view of preventing any of the ſtores from being carried off that way; or, if he had orders about the ſeizure of perſons, to prevent the eſcape of thoſe whom it was his object to ſecure. A body of militia who occupied a hill in the way, retired at the

1775. the approach of the troops, and paſſed over one of thoſe bridges, which was immediately after taken poſſeſſion of by the light infantry. The main body having arrived at the town, proceeded to execute their commiſſion, by rendering 3 pieces of iron cannon unſerviceable, deſtroying ſome gun and other carriages, and throwing ſeveral barrels of flour, gunpowder, and muſket ball into the river. In the mean time, the militia which retired from the hill, ſeeing ſeveral fires in the town which they apprehended to be of houſes in flames, returned towards the bridge which they had lately paſſed, and which lay in their way thither. Upon this movement, the light infantry retired on the Concord ſide of the river, and began to pull up the bridge; but upon the near approach of the militia, (who ſeemed ſtudiouſly to have avoided all appearance of beginning the attack, and made as if they only wanted to paſs as common travellers) the ſoldiers immediately fired, and killed two men. The provincials returned the fire, and a ſkirmiſh enſued at the bridge, in which the former ſeem to have been under ſome diſadvantage, and were forced to retreat, having ſeveral men killed and wounded, and a lieutenant and ſome others taken.

Province riſes in arms.

About this time the country roſe upon them. The troops were attacked on all quarters; ſkirmiſh ſucceeded upon ſkirmiſh; and a continued, though ſcattering and irregular fire, was ſupported through the whole of a long and very hot day. In the march back of ſix miles to Lexington, the troops were exceedingly annoyed, not only by the purſuers, but by the fire from houſes, walls, and other coverts, all of which were filled or lined with armed men.

L. Percy's detachment

It happened fortunately, that General Gage, apprehenſive of the danger of the ſervice, had detached Lord Percy early in the morning with 16 companies of foot, a detachment of marines, and two pieces of cannon, to ſupport Colonel Smith's detachment, and that they were arrived at Lexington, by the time the others had returned from Concord. This circumſtance was the more fortunate, as it is reported the firſt detachment had by that time expended all their ammunition; but if that even had not been the caſe, it ſcarcely ſeems poſſible that they could have eſcaped being cut off or taken in the long ſubſequent retreat of fifteen miles.

This powerful ſupport, eſpecially the cannon, afforded a breathing-time to the firſt detachment at Lexington, which they already much wanted. The field pieces obliged the provincials to keep their diſtance. But as ſoon as the troops

reſumed

resumed their march, the attacks, as the country people became more numerous, grew in proportion more violent, and the danger was continually augmenting, until they arrived about sun-set at Charlestown; from whence they passed over directly to Boston, under the protection (as the provincials say) of the guns of the Somerset man of war; the troops being entirely spent and worn down, by the excessive fatigues they had undergone. They had marched that day near 35 miles. 1775.

The loss was not so great on either side, as the length, irregularity, and variety of the engagement might seem to indicate; which may be attributed to the provincials not being at first powerful in number, and to their being afterwards kept at some distance by the field pieces. The king's troops, as may be expected, were the greater sufferers, having lost in killed, wounded, and prisoners, 273 men, of which 65 were killed, 2 lieutenants, and above 20 private men taken prisoners, and Colonel Smith, with another lieutenant-colonel and several officers, wounded. By the provincial accounts, which gives the names and places of abode of those who fell on their side, their loss in killed and wounded (including those who fell by the first fire in the morning at Lexington) amounted only to about sixty, of which near two thirds were killed. Loss on both sides.

By the nearest calculation that can be made, there were from 1800 to 2000 of the best troops in the service (being about half the force that was then stationed at Boston) employed upon this expedition. The event sufficiently shewed how ill-informed those were who had so often asserted at home, that a regiment or two could force their way through any part of the continent, and that the very sight of a grenadier's cap, would be sufficient to put an American army to flight.

Upon this occasion, each side charged the other with the most inhuman cruelties. Civil wars produce many such charges; but we have good reason, and some authority for believing, that these accounts, if at all true on either side, were much exaggerated. On one side, it is certain, that an officer and some of the soldiers who were wounded and prisoners, gave public testimonials of the humanity with which they were treated; and that the provincial commanders sent an offer to General Gage, to admit his surgeons to come and dress the wounded.

Although on the other side, the regulars were charged with killing the old, the infirm, the unarmed, and the wounded, without mercy; with burning several houses, and plundering

1775. plundering every thing that came in their way; we have had too conſtant and uniform an experience of the honour of our officers, and the humanity of our ſoldiers, not to conſider this account as equally exaggerated.

Boſton inveſted by great numbers of the militia.

This affair immediately called up the whole province in arms; and though a ſufficient number were ſpeedily aſſembled effectually to inveſt the king's troops in Boſton, it was with difficulty that the crowds who were haſtily marching from different parts, could be prevailed upon to return to their reſpective homes. The body of militia which ſurrounded Boſton, amounted, as it was ſaid, to above 20,000 men, under the command of the Colonels Ward, Pribble, Heath, Preſcot, and Thomas, who for the preſent acted as generals, and having fixed their head quarters at Cambridge, formed a line of encampment, the right wing of which extended from that town to Roxbury, and the left to Myſtick, the diſtance between the points being about thirty miles. This line they ſtrengthened with artillery. They were ſpeedily joined by Colonel Putnam, an old and and brave provincial officer, who had acquired experience and reputation in the two laſt wars. He encamped with a large detachment of Connecticut troops in ſuch a poſition, as to be readily able to ſupport thoſe who were before the town.

Provincial congreſs. addreſs the people of G. Britain.

In the mean time the provincial congreſs, which was now removed to Watertown, drew up an addreſs to the inhabitants of Great Britain, in which they ſtated the moſt material particulars, relative to the late engagement, and took pains to ſhew, that hoſtilities were firſt commenced, and blood drawn, both at Lexington and Concord by the regulars. They complain of the ravages committed by them in their retreat; place much dependence on the honour, wiſdom, aud valour of Britons, from which they hope their interference in preventing the proſecution of meaſures, which, they repreſent, as equally ruinous to the mother country and the colonies; they make great profeſſions of loyalty; but but declare, that they will not tamely ſubmit to the perſecution and tyranny of a cruel miniſtry, and (appealing to Heaven for the juſtice of their cauſe) that they are determined to *die* or be *free*.

Meaſures purſued for the array and ſupport of an army.

The provincial congreſs alſo paſſed a vote for the array and ſupport of an army; fixed the pay of the officers and ſoldiers, and publiſhed rules and orders for its regulation and government. To provide for the military expence, they paſſed a vote for the iſſuing of a conſiderable ſum in paper currency, which was to be received in all caſes as money, and the

the faith of the province pledged for its payment. As the term for which they were chosen was to expire on the 30th of May, they gave notice for the election of a new congress, to meet on the 31st of that month at the same place, and to be continued for six months, and no longer. They also passed a resolution, that General Gage had, by the late transactions, and many other means, utterly disqualified himself from serving that colony as a governor, or in any other capacity, and that therefore no obedience was in future due to him; but that on the contrary he ought to be considered and guarded against, as an unnatural and inveterate enemy to the country.

1775. May, 5th. Pay of the officers and soldiers fixed, &c.

The affair at Lexington (though some such event must have been long foreseen and expected) excited the greatest indignation in the other colonies, and they prepared for war with as much eagerness and dispatch as if an enemy had already appeared at each of their doors. The bravery shewn by the militia in this their first essay, and the supposed advantages they had obtained over the regulars, were matters of great exultation; while those who fell in the action were regretted with the deepest concern, and honoured, not only as patriots, but as martyrs, who had died bravely in the cause of their country. The outrages and cruelties charged upon the king's forces, however unjustly founded, produced a great effect, and increased the public fever.

In some places the magazines were seized, and in New-Jersey the treasury; a considerable sum of money in which was appropriated to the payment of the troops they were raising. At the same time, without waiting for any concert or advice, a stop was almost every where put to the exportation of provisions; and in some places all exportation was stopt, till the opinion of the general congress upon that subject was known. Lord North's conciliatory plan, or the resolution founded upon it, was totally rejected by the assemblies of Pensylvania and New Jersey; nor was it received any where.

In the mean time, the governor and forces at Boston, as well as the inhabitants, continued closely blocked up by land; and being shut out from all supplies of fresh provisions and vegetables, which the neighbouring counties could have afforded by sea, they began to experience those inconveniencies which afterwards amounted to real distress. As the inhabitants had now no other resource for their subsistance than the king's stores, the provincials were the more strict in preventing all supplies, hoping that the want of provisions would

1775. would lay the governor under a neceſſity of conſenting to their departure from the town; or at leaſt that the women and children would be ſuffered to depart, which was repeatedly applied for. It is probable that the governor conſidered the inhabitants as neceſſary hoſtages for the ſecurity of the town, at leaſt, if not of the troops. However it was, he at length entered into a capitulation with the inhabitants, by which, upon condition of delivering up their arms, they were to have free liberty to depart with all their other effects. The inhabitants accordingly delivered up their arms; but to their utter diſmay and aſtoniſhment, the governor refuſed to fulfil the conditions on his ſide. This breach of faith, and the conſequences that attended it, were much complained of. Many, however, both then, and at different times after, obtained permiſſion to quit the town; but they were obliged to leave all their effects behind; ſo that thoſe who had hitherto lived in eaſe and affluence, were at once reduced to the extremity of indigence and miſery. The general congreſs ranked amongſt their bittereſt complaints the ſufferings of the inhabitants in this reſpect. They ſay, that paſſports were granted or retained in ſuch a manner, that families were broken and the deareſt connections ſeparated; part being compelled to quit the town, and part retained againſt their will. This, by far the moſt diſhonourable to government, we are obliged in fairneſs to ſtate according to the provincial narrative, no other having appeared to contradict or qualify it. The poor and helpleſs were all ſent out.

Capitulation with the inhabitants of Boſton not adhered to.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

From the meeting of the General Congreſs at Philadelphia, May 10, 1775, (purſuant to adjournment, from Oct. 26, 1774), to the blockade of Boſton, in July following, by the generals Waſhington and Lee; with a particular account of the action of Bunker's-Hill.

1775. May 10.

THE Continental Congreſs having met at the time appointed at Philadelphia, ſoon adopted ſuch meaſures as confirmed the people in their reſolution and conduct. Among their firſt acts were reſolutions for the raiſing of an army, and the eſtabliſhment of a large paper currency for its payment; the "*United Colonies*," (by which appellation they reſolved that they ſhould be known and diſtinguiſhed for the future) being ſecurities for realizing the nominal value of this currency. They alſo ſtrictly prohibited the ſupplying of the Britiſh fiſheries with any kind of proviſions; and to render this order the more effectual, ſtopt all exportation to thoſe colonies, iſlands, and places which ſtill retained their obedience. This meaſure, which does not ſeem to have been expected, or even apprehended at home, occaſioned no ſmall diſtreſs to the people at Newfoundland, and to all thoſe employed in the fiſheries; inſomuch that to prevent an abſolute famine, ſeveral ſhips were under a neceſſity of returning light from that ſtation, to carry out cargoes of proviſions from Ireland.

Reſolutions for raiſing an army, the eſtabliſhment of a paper currency and to prevent Britiſh fiſheries from being ſupplied with proviſions.

The city and province of New-York, notwithſtanding their former moderation, ſeemed, upon receiving an account of the late action, to receive alſo a plentiful portion of that ſpirit which operated in the other colonies. A moſt numerous aſſociation was accordingly formed, and a Provincial Congreſs elected. But as ſome regiments from Ireland were expected ſpeedily to arrive there, and that capital, beſides, lies open to the ſea, its ſituation became very critical. In theſe circumſtances, a body of Connecticut men arrived in the neighbourhood of that city, avowedly for its protection, and probably alſo to ſupport the preſent diſpoſition of the people. Their ſtrength was not, however, ſufficient to afford an effectual protection; nor, if it had been greater, would it have availed againſt an attack by ſea. The city accordingly

1775. cordingly applied, through its delegates, to the Continental Congreſs for inſtructions how to act upon the arrival of the troops. The Congreſs adviſed them for the preſent, to act defenſively with reſpect to the troops, ſo far as it could be done conſiſtently with their own ſecurity;—to ſuffer them to occupy their barracks, ſo long as they behaved peaceably and quietly; but not to ſuffer them to erect any fortification, or in any manner to cut off the communications between the city and country; and if they attempted hoſtilities, that they ſhould defend themſelves, and repel force by force. They alſo recommended to them, to provide for the worſt that might happen, by ſecuring places of retreat for the women and children; by removing the arms and ammunition from the magazines; and by keeping a ſufficient number of men embodied for the protection of the inhabitants in general.—The departure of ſo many helpleſs objects from the places of their habitation, was a very affecting ſpectacle. That once flouriſhing commercial city was now become almoſt a deſart. It was by its own inhabitants devoted to the flames. It happened, perhaps happily for New-York, that the troops being more wanted at Boſton, were not landed there.

Application from the people of N. York to the Gen. Congreſs.

In the mean time, ſeveral private perſons belonging to the back parts of Connecticut, Maſſachuſett's, and New-York, undertook at their own riſque, and without any public command or participation, an expedition of the utmoſt importance, and which not only in its conſequences moſt materially affected the intereſt and power of government in the colonies; but had brought the queſtion to the critical nicety of a point, and the deciſion to depend merely upon accident, whether we ſhould have a ſingle poſſeſſion left in North-America. This was the ſurprize of Ticonderoga, Crown Point, and other fortreſſes, ſituated upon the great lakes, and commanding the paſſes between the Britiſh colonies and Canada. It ſeems that ſome of thoſe who were among the firſt that formed this deſign, and had ſet out with the greateſt privacy in its proſecution, met by the way with others, who, without any previous concert, were embarked in the ſame project; ſo extenſive was that ſpirit of enterprize which theſe unhappy conteſts called into action. Theſe adventurers, amounting in the whole to about 240 men, under the command of a Colonel Eaſton, and a Colonel Ethan Allen, with great perſeverance and addreſs, ſurprized the ſmall garriſons of Ticonderoga and Crown Point. Theſe fortreſſes were taken without the loſs of a man on either ſide. They found in the forts a conſiderable artillery, amounting, as they ſaid, to above

Crown-point and Ticonderoga ſurprized.

bove 200 pieces of cannon, beſides ſome mortars, howits, and quantities of various ſtores, which were to them highly valuable; they alſo took two veſſels, which gave them the command of Lake Champlain, and materials ready prepared at Ticonderoga for the building and equipping of others. 1775.

During theſe tranſactions the Generals Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton, arrived at Boſton from England, together with a conſiderable number of marines, and draughts from other regiments, to ſupply the vacancies there. Theſe were ſoon followed by ſeveral regiments from Ireland, ſo that the force at Boſton, with reſpect to number, the goodneſs of the troops, aad the character of the commanders, was become very reſpectable; and it was generally believed, that matters could not continue much longer in their then ſituation. May, 25, Generals and troops arrive at Boſton.

Nothing remarkable had yet happened ſince the commencement of the blockade, except two ſmall engagements which aroſe from the attempts of either party to carry off the ſtock of ſome of thoſe iſlands, with which the bay of Boſton is interſperſed, and which afforded the mixed ſpectacle of ſhips, boats, and men, engaged by land and water. In both theſe ſkirmiſhes (each of which continued for ſeveral hours) the king's troops were foiled, with ſome loſs; and in the laſt, which happened at Hogg and Noddle's-Iſlands, an armed ſchooner being left by the tide, the people after ſtanding a ſevere fire of ſmall arms, and two pieces of artillery from the ſhore, were at length obliged to abandon her, and ſhe was burned by the provincials. Engagements in the iſlands near Boſton.

Notwithſtanding the late reinforcements, and the arrival of generals of the moſt active character, the troops continued for ſome time very quiet at Boſton. On the other ſide, it is probable that an attempt would have been made to ſtorm that town, while the people were hot in blood after the affair of Lexington, if a concern for the preſervation of the inhabitants had not prevailed over every other conſideration. It muſt however be allowed, that from the number of veſſels of war, which nearly ſurrounded the peninſula, as well as the vaſt artillery by which it was protected, and the excellency of the troops, that ſuch an attempt muſt have been attended with great difficulty and danger, and that the deſtruction of the town muſt have been laid down as an inevitable conſequence. There were other matters alſo of conſideration. A repulſe to new troops, or the carnage that would even attend ſucceſs in ſo arduous a conflict, might have been attended with fatal conſequences; the people were not only new to war, but they were in a new and ſtrange ſtate and ſituation; they

1775. they were entering into an untried, unthought-of, and unnatural conteſt, loaded with the moſt fatal conſequences, without experience to guide, or precedent to direct them; they had not yet in general renounced all hopes of an accomodation, and thoſe who had not, would totally condemn any violence which ſhut them out from ſo deſirable an event; in ſuch a wavering ſtate of hope, fear, and uncertainty, much caution was to be uſed, as any untoward event, might ſuddenly damp the ardour of the people, diſſolve their reſolutions, and ſhake all their confederacies to pieces.

June, 8. G. Congreſs reſolve that the compact between the crown & the province of Maſſachuſett's Bay is diſſolved. Erect a general poſt-office.

In the mean time the Continental Congreſs reſolved, that the compact between the crown and the people of Maſſachuſett's-Bay, was diſſolved, by the violation of the charter of William and Mary; and therefore recommended to the people of that province, to proceed to the eſtabliſhment of a new government, by electing a Governor, Aſſiſtants, and Houſe of Aſſembly, according to the powers contained in their original charter. They paſſed another reſolution, that no bill of exchange, draught, or order, of any officer in the army or navy, their agents, or contractors, ſhould be received or negociated, or any money ſupplied to them by any perſon; and prohibited the ſupplying of the army, navy, or ſhips employed in the tranſport ſervice, with proviſions or neceſſaries of any kind. They alſo erected a general poſt-office at Philadelphia, which alſo extended through all the united colonies; and ſome time after placed Dr. Franklin, who had been diſgraced and removed from that office in England, at the head of it. Thus had they, in effect, only under the name of recommendation and council, aſſumed all the powers of a ſupreme government.

June, 12, Proclamation of rebellion by G. Gage.

About the ſame time General Gage iſſued a proclamation, by which a pardon was offered in the king's name, to all thoſe who ſhould forthwith lay down their arms, and return to their reſpective occupations and peaceable duties, excepting only from the benefit of the pardon, SAMUEL ADAMS and JOHN HANDCOCK, whoſe offences were ſaid to be of too flagitious a nature to admit of any other conſideration than that of condign puniſhment. All thoſe who did not accept of the proffer'd mercy, or who ſhould protect, aſſiſt, ſupply, conceal, or correſpond with them, to be treated as rebels and traitors. It alſo declared, that as a ſtop was put to the due courſe of juſtice, marſhal law ſhould take place till the laws were reſtored to their due efficacy. It is needleſs to obſerve, that this proclamation had as little effect as any of thoſe that preceded

preceded it. MR. HANDCOCK* was about that time choſen preſident of the Continental Congreſs. 1775.

This proclamation was looked upon as the preliminary to immediate action. Accordingly, from that moment both

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* This gentleman was born in the province of Maſſachuſett's Bay, in North America, in which he enjoyed a very conſiderable fortune. From the firſt diſturbances in America, about the Stamp-act, he took a very active part in the defence of, what he concluded to be, the Rights and Liberties of his native country. When delegates were firſt choſen to meet in continental congreſs, he was elected one of the repreſentatives for his province; and on the death of Peyton Randolph, eſq; unanimouſly choſen Preſident. His eloquence was manifeſted by his very ſpirited oration on the anniverſary of the maſſacre at Boſton; and his coolneſs muſt be acknowledged, when it is known that moſt of the dutiful addreſſes, and conciliatory propoſals, originated from his pen. He is at preſent in his 38th year, and was married laſt Autumn, to one of the moſt beautiful and accompliſhed ladies in America, who brought him a very conſiderable addition to his paternal fortune, yet he ſcorned to lie down in the lap of eaſe, but reſolved to devote all his abilities to the benefit of that country, whoſe united voice, from the knowledge of his many virtues, called him to preſide over the free elected repreſentatives of the whole continent. Mr. Hancock's character

Mr. ADAMS, is a gentleman who has made a great figure in America, and has taken ſo active a part in all her diſputes with the mother country, that he was joined with Mr. *Handcock* in being the only perſons refuſed pardons on returning to their duty to the Britiſh adminiſtration, in the proclamation juſt iſſued by Gen. Gage. He is a man of fortune, and a native of New-England; about 54 years of age, and early imbibed a love for a conſtitutional Liberty, which love he carried to a degree of enthuſiaſm, that would not prevent him to be a ſilent ſpectator of the diſputes which aroſe firſt about the Stamp act, and ſince on the Tea. He took every opportunity to warn his countrymen of the dangers ariſing to their liberties; and however ſome may think the queſtion problematical, yet as he always acted from principle, if he is even miſtaken, he has a juſt claim to the title of an *honeſt man*. When it was thought neceſſary to convene delegates, from the different provinces, he was ſent to the Gen. Continental Congreſs, as one of the repreſentatives for the province of Maſſachuſett's Bay. In what light he is held by the Americans may be eaſily gathered, from his being lately appointed to a poſt equivalent to that of Secretary of ſtate. In ſhort, he is an able politician; and the attack on Canada by the Provincials was in conſequence of a plan laid down by him. Mr. Adams's.

1775. ſides held themſelves in readineſs for it. The poſt of Charleſtown had hitherto been neglected by both the parties. The procincials thought it neceſſary for them, whether they ſhould chuſe to act on the defenſive or offenſive. They accordingly made the neceſſary preparations, and ſent a body of men thither at night with the greateſt privacy, to throw up works upon Bunker's-Hill, an high ground that lies juſt within the iſthmus, or neck of land that joins the peninſula to the continent. This peninſula is very ſimilar to that on which Boſton ſtands, excepting that the iſthmus is conſiderably wider, and that Bunker's Hill is much higher than any hill in the latter. The towns are only ſeparated by Charles-River, which in that part is only about the breadth of the Thames between London and Southwark; ſo that Charleſtown ſeemed to hold the ſame connexion with Boſton, that the Borough does with that city.

The party that was ſent upon this ſervice, carried on their works with ſuch extraordinary order and ſilence, that though the peninſula was ſurrounded with ſhips of war, they were not heard during the night, and uſed ſuch incredible diſpatch in the execution, that they had a ſmall but ſtrong redoubt, conſiderable entrenchments, and a breaſt-work, that was in ſome parts cannon proof, far advanced towards completion by break of day. The ſight of the works, was the firſt no-
June 17. tice that alarmed the Lively man of war early in the morning, and her guns called the town, camp, and fleet to behold a ſight, which ſeemed little leſs than a prodigy.

A heavy and continued fire of cannon, howitzers, and mortars, was from thence carried on upon the works, from the ſhips, floating batteries, and from the top of Cop's-Hill in Boſton. Such a great and inceſſant roar of artillery, would have been a trial to the firmneſs of old ſoldiers, and muſt undoubtedly have greatly impeded the completion of the works; it is however ſaid, that they bore this ſevere fire with wonderful firmneſs, and ſeemed to go on with their buſineſs as if no enemy had been near, nor danger in the ſervice

Action at Bunker's Hill. About noon, General Gage cauſed a conſiderable body of troops to be embarked under the command of Major-General Howe, and Brigadier-General Pigot, to drive the Provincials from their works. This detachment conſiſted of ten companies of grenadiers, as many of light infantry, and the 5th, 38th, 43d, and 52d battalions, with a proper artillery, who were landed and drawn up without oppoſition, under the fire of the ſhips of war. The two generals found the

the enemy so numerous, and in such a posture of defence, that they thought it necessary to send back for a reinforcement before they commenced the attack; they were accordly joined by some companies of light infantry and grenadiers, by the 47th regiment, and by the first battalion of marines amounting in the whole, as represented by General Gage's letter, to something more than 2000 men. 1775.

The attack was begun by a most severe fire of cannon and howitzers, under which the troops advanced very slowly towards the enemy, and halted several times, to afford an opportunity to the artillery to ruin the works, and to throw the provincials into confusion. Whatever it proceeded from, whether from the number, situation, or countenance of the enemy, or from all together, the king's forces seem to have been unusually staggered in this attack. The provincials threw some men into the houses of Charlestown, which covered their right flank, by which means, General Pigot, who commanded our left wing, and to whose activity, bravery, and firmness, much of this day's success was owing, was at once engaged with the lines, and with those in the houses. In this conflict, Charlestown, whether by carcasses thrown from the ships, or by the troops, is uncertain, was unfortunately set on fire in several places, and burnt to the ground. The provincials stood this severe and continual fire of small arms and artillery, with a resolution and perseverance, which would not have done discredit to old troops. They did not return a shot, until the king's forces had approached almost to the works, when a most dreadful fire took place, by which a number of our bravest men and officers fell. Some gentlemen, who had served in the most distinguished actions of the last war, declared, that for the time it lasted, it was the hottest engagement they ever knew. It is then no wonder, if under so heavy and destructive a fire, our troops were thrown into some disorder. It is said, that General Howe, was for a few seconds left nearly alone; and it is certain, that most of the officers near his person, were either killed or wounded. His coolness, firmness, and presence of mind on this occasion cannot be too much applauded. It fully answered all the ideas so generally entertained of the courage of his family. It is said, that in this critical moment, General Clinton, who arrived from Boston during the engagement, by a happy manœuvre, rallied the troops almost instantaneously, and brought them again to the charge. However that was, their usual intrepidity now produced its usual effects; they attacked the works with fixed bayonets, and

Charlestown burnt.

1774. irreſiſtible fury, and forced them in every quarter.—— Though many of the provincials were deſtitute of bayonets, and, as they affirm, their ammunition was expended, a number of them fought deſperately within the works, and were not drove from them without difficulty. They at length retreated over Charleſtown neck, which was enfiladed by the guns of the Glaſgow man of war, and of two floating batteries. They ſuffered but little loſs from this formidable artillery, though the dread of it had prevented ſome regiments who were ordered to ſupport them from fulfilling their duty.

Killed & wounded of the K's troops.

Thus ended the hot and bloody affair of Bunker's-Hill, in which we had more men and officers killed and wounded, in proportion to the number engaged, than in any other action which we can recollect. The whole loſs in killed and wounded, amounted to 1054, of whom 226 were killed; of theſe, 19 were commiſſioned officers, including a lieutenant-colonel, 2 majors, and 7 captains; 70 other officers were wounded. Among thoſe who were more generally regretted upon this occaſion, were Lieutenant-colonel Abercromby, and the brave Major Pitcairne of the marines. The Majors Williams and Spendlove, the laſt of whom died of his wounds ſome time after the action, had alſo ſealed their lives with ſuch diſtinguiſhed honour, as to render their loſs the more ſenſibly felt. The event ſufficiently ſhewed the bravery of the king's troops. There was ſcarcely a ſingle officer who had not ſome opportunity of ſignalizing himſelf; the generals and field officers uſed the moſt extraordinary exertions. All theſe circumſtances concur in ſhewing the hard and dangerous ſervice in which they were engaged. The battle of Quebec, in the late war, with all its glory, and the vaſtneſs of the conſequences of which it was productive, was not ſo deſtructive to our officers, as this affair of a retrenchment caſt up in a few hours. It was a matter of grievous reflection, that thoſe brave men, many of whom had nobly contributed their ſhare, when engaged againſt her natural enemies, to extend the military glory of their country into every quarter of the globe, ſhould now have ſuffered ſo ſeverely, in only a prelude to this unhappy civil conteſt.

The fate of Charleſtown was alſo a matter of melancholy contemplation to the ſerious and unprejudiced of all parties. It was the firſt ſettlement made in the colony, and was conſidered as the mother of Boſton, that town owing its birth and nurture to emigrants from the former. Charleſtown

was

was large, handſome, and well built, both in reſpect to its public and private edifices; it contained about 400 houſes, and had the greateſt trade of any port in the province except Boſton. It is ſaid, that the two ports cleared out a thouſand veſſels annually for a foreign trade, excluſive of an infinite number of coaſters. It is now buried in its ruins. Such is the termination of human labour, induſtry, and wiſdom; and ſuch are the fatal fruits of civil diſſentions. 1775.

The king's troops took five pieces of cannon out of ſix, which the provincials brought into the peninſula; and they left about 30 wounded behind them. No other priſoners were taken. Their loſs, according to an account publiſhed by the provincial congreſs, was comparatively ſmall, amounting to about 450, killed, wounded, miſſing, and priſoners. On our ſide they are confident, that the ſlaughter was much more conſiderable; but of this we had no particulars, as the account ſaid, that the provincials buried a great number of their dead during the engagement. This is an extraordinary circumſtance. But the loſs they lamented moſt, was that of Dr. Warren, who acting as a major-general, commanded the party upon this occaſion, and was killed, fighting bravely at their head, in a little redoubt to the right of their lines. This gentleman, who was rendered conſpicuous by his general merit, abilities, and eloquence, had been one of the delegates to the firſt general, and was at this time preſident of the provincial congreſs; but quitting the peaceable walk of his profeſſion as a phyſician, and breaking through the endearing ties of family ſatisfactions, he ſhewed himſelf equally calculated for the field, as for public buſineſs or private ſtudy, and ſhed his blood gallantly in, what he deemed, the ſervice of his country. They loſt ſome other officers of name, one of whom, a lieutenant-colonel, died of his wounds in the priſon at Boſton.

Killed & wounded of the provincials.

Dr. Warren killed

Both ſides claimed much honour from this action. The regulars, from having, it was ſaid, beaten three times their own number, out of a ſtrongly fortified poſt, and under various other diſadvantages. On the other ſide, they repreſented the regulars as amounting to 3000 men, and rated their own number only at 1500; and reminded, that this ſmall body not only withſtood their attack, and repeatedly repulſed them with great loſs, notwithſtanding the powerful artillery they had brought with them, but that they had at the ſame time, and for ſeveral hours before, ſuſtained a moſt intolerable fire, from the ſhips of war, floating batteries, and fixed battery at Boſton, which prevented them from being able

1775. able in any degree to finiſh their works. What their exact number was cannot be eaſily known. It was not probably ſo large as it was made in the Gazette account; nor ſo ſmall as in that given by the Americans. However, the provincials were by no means diſpirited by the event of this engagement. They had ſhewn a great degree of activity and ſkill in the conſtruction of their works; and of conſtancy, in maintaining them under many diſadvantages. They ſaid, that tho' they had loſt a poſt, they had almoſt all the effects of the moſt complete victory; as they entirely put a ſtop to the offenſive opperations of a large army ſent to ſubdue them; and which they continued to blockade in a narrow town. They now exulted, that their actions had thoroughly refuted thoſe aſperſions which had been thrown upon them in England, of a deficiency in ſpirit and reſolution.

Bunker's-Hill fortified by the regulars.

From this time, the troops kept poſſeſſion of the peninſula, and fortified Bunker's-Hill and the entrance; ſo that the force at Boſton was now divided into two diſtinct parts, and had two garriſons to maintain. In one ſenſe, this was uſeful to the troops, as it enlarged their quarters; they having been before much incommoded by the ſtreightneſs in which they were confined in Boſton, during the exceſſive heats that always prevail there at that ſeaſon of the year; but this advantage was counterballanced by the great additional duty which they were now obliged to perform. Their ſituation was irkſome and degrading. They were ſurrounded and inſulted by an enemy whom they had been taught to deſpiſe. They were cut off from freſh proviſions, and all thoſe refreſhments of which they ſtood in the greateſt need, and which the neighbouring countries afforded in the greateſt plenty. Thus their wants were continual and aggravating remembrancers of the circumſtances of their ſituation. Bad and ſalt proviſions, with confinement and the heat of the climate, naturally filled the hoſpitals; and the number of ſick and wounded was now ſaid to amount to 1600. Under theſe circumſtances it was rather wonderful that the number was not greater. But few in compariſon died.

Provincials throw up works on Charleſtown neck.

The provincials, after the action of Bunker's-Hill, immediately threw up works upon another hill oppoſite to it on their ſide of Charleſtown neck; ſo that the troops were as cloſely inveſted in that peninſula as they had been at Boſton. They were alſo indefatigable in ſecuring the moſt expoſed poſts of their lines with ſtrong redoubts covered with artillery, and advanced their works cloſe to the fortifications on Boſton neck; while, with equal boldneſs and addreſs, they burnt an

advanced

advanced guard-houſe belonging to our people. As the latter were abundantly furniſhed with all manner of military ſtores and artillery, they were not ſparing in throwing ſhells, and ſupporting a great cannonade upon the works of the provincials, which had little other effect than to inure them to that ſort of ſervice, and to wear off the dread of thoſe noiſy meſſengers of fate. On the other ſide, they ſeem to have been cautious in expending their powder. 1775. Guard houſe burnt.

A regiment of light cavalry which arrived at Boſton from Ireland, and which were never able to ſet foot beyond that garriſon, ſerved only to create new wants, and to increaſe the incommodities of the people, as well as of the army. The hay which grew upon the iſlands in the bay, became now an object of neceſſary attention, as well as the ſheep and cattle which they contained; but the provincials having procured a number of whaling-boats, and being maſters of the ſhore and inlets of the bay, were notwithſtanding the vigilance and number of the ſhips of war and armed veſſels, too ſucceſsful in burning, deſtroying, or carrying away, thoſe eſſential articles of ſupply. Theſe enterprizes brought on ſeveral ſkirmiſhes, and they grew at length ſo daring, that they burnt the light-houſe, which was ſituated on an iſland at the entrance of the harbour, though a man of war lay within a mile of them at the time; and ſome carpenters being afterwards ſent, under the protection of a ſmall party of marines, to erect a temporary light-houſe, they killed or carried off the whole detachment. Light-houſe burnt.

During theſe tranſactions a kind of predatory war commenced, and has ſince continued, between the ſhips of war, and the inhabitants on different parts of the coaſts. The former, being refuſed the ſupplies of proviſions and neceſſaries which they wanted for themſelves or the army, endeavoured to obtain them by force, and in theſe attempts were frequently oppoſed, and ſometimes repulſed with loſs by the country-people. The ſeizing of ſhips in conformity to the new laws, or to the commands of the admiral, was alſo a continual ſource of animoſity and violence, the proprietors naturally hazarding all dangers in the defence, or for the recovery of their property. Theſe conteſts drew the vengeance of the men of war upon ſeveral of the ſmall towns upon the ſea coaſts, ſome of which underwent a ſevere chaſtiſement.

The pernicious conſequences of the late Quebec-act, with reſpect to the very purpoſes for which it was framed, were now diſplayed in a degree, which its moſt ſanguine opponents could ſcarcely have expected. Inſtead of gaining the French Conſequences of the Quebec act.

1775. French Canadians to the intereſt of government by that law, the great body of the inhabitants were found as adverſe to it, and as much diſguſted at its operation, as even the Britiſh ſettlers. General Carleton, the governor of that province, who had placed much confidence in the raiſing of a conſiderable army of Canadians, and being enabled to march at their head to the relief of General Gage, (a matter which was ſo much relied upon at home, that 20,000 ſtands of arms, and a great quantity of other military ſtores had been ſent out for that purpoſe) found himſelf now totally diſappointed. The people ſaid that they were now under the Britiſh government; that they could not pretend to underſtand the cauſes of the preſent diſputes, nor the juſtice of the claims on either ſide; that they did, and would ſhew themſelves dutiful ſubjects, by a quiet and peaceable demeanor, and due obedience to the government under which they were placed; but that it was totally inconſiſtent with their ſtate and condition, to interfere, or in any degree to render themſelves parties, in the conteſts that might ariſe between that government and its ancient ſubjects. It was in vain that the governor iſſued a proclamation for aſſembling a militia, and for the execution of martial law; they ſaid they would defend the province if it was attacked; but they abſolutely refuſed to march out of it, or to commence hoſtilities with their neighbours. The governor, as the laſt reſort, applied to the Biſhop of Quebec, to uſe his ſpiritual influence and authority with the people towards diſpoſing them to the adoption of this favourite meaſure, and particularly that he would iſſue an epiſcopal mandate for that purpoſe, to be read by the pariſh prieſts in time of divine ſervice; but the biſhop excuſed himſelf from a compliance with this propoſition, by repreſenting, that an epiſcopal mandate on ſuch a ſubject, would be contrary to the canons of the Roman Catholic church. The eccleſiaſtics, in the place of this, iſſued other letters, which were, however pretty generally diſregarded. The nobleſſe alone, who were chiefly conſidered in the Quebec-act, ſhewed a zeal againſt the Engliſh coloniſts. But ſeparated as they were from the great body of the people, they exhibited no formidable degree of ſtrength.

Canadian troops under G. Carleton refuſe to act offenſively.

Other endeavours which were uſed to involve the colonies in domeſtic troubles proved equally abortive. Conſiderable pains were taken, by the means of ſeveral agents who had influence on them, to engage thoſe numerous tribes of Indians that ſtretch along the backs of the colonies, to cauſe a diver-

Indians applied to.

a diverſion, by attacking them in thoſe weak and tender parts. But neither preſents, nor perſuaſions, were capable of producing the deſired effect. From whatever chance or fortune it proceeded, thoſe ſavage warriors, who had at other times been ſo ready to take up the hatchet without ſupport or encouragement, now turned a deaf ear to all propoſals of that nature, and declared for a neutrality. They uſed much the ſame reaſons for this conduct that the Canadians had done; they did not underſtand the ſubject; were very ſorry for the preſent unfortunate diſputes; but it was not fit nor becoming for them, to take any part in quarrels between Engliſhmen, for all of whom, on both ſides of the water, they had the higheſt affection. This was an object of too much importance to be overlooked by the congreſs. They accordingly employed proper perſons to cultivate favourable diſpoſitions in the Indians; and by degrees took ſuch meaſures as obliged the agents for government to provide for their own ſafety. It is ſaid, that ſome of the Indians made propoſals to take up arms on their ſide; but that they were only requeſted to obſerve a ſtrict neutrality. 1775.

General Gage's late proclamation increaſed the animoſity, indignation, and rage, which were already ſo generally prevalent, and brought out a Declaration from the general congreſs, which in the nature of thoſe general appeals that are made to mankind, as well as to heaven, in a declaration of war, ſet forth the cauſes and neceſſity of their taking up arms. Among the long liſt of thoſe ſuppoſed cauſes, beſides the late hoſtilities, they ſtate the endeavours uſed to inſtigate the Canadians and Indians to attack them, and ſeverely reproach General Gage, for, what they call, perfidy, cruelty, and breach of faith, in breaking the conditions which he had entered into with the inhabitants of Boſton; they are not leſs free in the cenſure of the army, whom they charge with the burning of Charleſtown, wantonly and unneceſſarily. July 6th, Declaration of the Gen. Congreſs in anſ. to the late proclamation.

In ſtating their reſources, they reckon upon foreign aſſiſtance as undoubtedly attainable, if neceſſary. They, however, afterwards ſay, that, leſt this Declaration ſhould diſquiet the minds of their friends and fellow-ſubjects in any part of the empire, they aſſure them, that they mean not to diſſolve that union which has ſo long and happily ſubſiſted between them, and which they ſincerely wiſh to ſee reſtored; that neceſſity has not yet driven them to that deſperate meaſure, or induced them to excite any other nation to war againſt them; they have not raiſed armies with ambitious deſigns of ſeparating from Great-Britain, and eſtabliſhing indepen-

1775. independent ſtates; they fight not for glory or for conqueſt. ——This declaration was read with great, ſerious, and even religious ſolemnity, to the different bodies of the army who were encamped around Boſton, and was received by them with loud acclamations of approbation.

Addreſs to the inhabitants of G. B. —to the people of Ireland. Petition to the king.

This declaration was followed by an addreſs to the inhabitants of Great-Britain; another to the people of Ireland; and a petition to the King. All theſe writings were drawn up in a very maſterly manner; and are, in reſpect to art, addreſs, and execution, equal to any public Declarations made by any powers upon the greateſt occaſions.

The Congreſs had in their Declaration, without naming it, reprobated the principles of Lord North's conciliatory propoſition, which they call an inſidious manœuvre adopted by parliament. They, however, afterwards, took the reſolution more formally into conſideration. It had been communicated to them by direction, or at leaſt permiſſion from that miniſter, in the hand-writing of Sir Grey Cowper, one of the two principal ſecretaries of the treaſury. In the courſe of a long and argumentative diſcuſſion, they condemn it, as unreaſonable and inſidious; that it is unreaſonable, becauſe, if they declare they will accede to it, they declare, without reſervation, that they will purchaſe the favour of parliament, not knowing at the ſame time at what price they will pleaſe to eſtimate their favour; that it is inſidious, becauſe individual colonies, having bid, and bidden again, till they find the avidity of the ſeller too great for all their powers to ſatisfy, are then to return into oppoſition, divided from their ſiſter colonies, whom the miniſter will have previouſly detached by a grant of eaſier terms, or by an artful procraſtination of a definitive anſwer. They conclude upon the whole, that the propoſition was held up to the world, to deceive it into a belief, that there was nothing in diſpute but the *mode* of levying taxes; and that parliament having now been ſo good as to give up that, the colonies muſt be unreaſonable in the higheſt degree if they were not perfectly ſatisfied.

Georgia accedes to the general confederacy.

The colony of Georgia at length joined in the general alliance. A provincial congreſs having aſſembled in the beginning of the month of July, they ſpeedily agreed to all the reſolutions of the two General Congreſſes in their utmoſt extent, and appointed five delegates to attend the preſent. As it were to make amends for the delay, they at once entered into all the ſpirit of the reſolutions formed by the other colonies, and adopted ſimilar; and declared, that though their province was not included in any of the oppreſſive acts lately paſſed

passed against America, they considered that circumstance as an insult rather than a favour, as being done only with a view to divide them from their American brethren. They also addressed a petition, under the title of an humble address and representation, to his majesty; which, however threadbare the subject had already been worn, was not deficient in a certain freshness of colouring, which gave it the appearance of novelty. From this accession to the confederacy, they henceforward assumed the appellation of the THIRTEEN UNITED COLONIES. 1775.

In the mean time the General Congress, in compliance with the wishes of the people in general, and the particular application of the New-England provinces, appointed Geo. Washington, Esq;* a gentleman of affluent fortune in Virginia, General *Washington* appointed commander in chief.

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* The family from which this gentleman is descended, was originally in Lancashire, but afterwards removed to the city of Coventry where he was born, on the 3d of Sept. 1727. His mother was of the same family with General Monk, who, for his services at the Restoration, was created Duke of Albemarle.

Mr. Washington discovered an early inclination to arms, and first entered as a private man, in general Wade's regiment, in the year 1746, being then not twenty-one, and soon after he bought a cornet's commission in the same regiment, and served against the Scotch rebels. He continued in the service till the peace, when he went abroad to improve himself in the military profession.

When the French war broke out in America, in the year 1755, Mr. Washington went over to that country, where his courage and military abilities being known, he was raised to the rank of Major in the provincial forces, and was at Fort Edward, under the command of general Webb, when Mons. Montcalm advanced, to take Fort William Henry, on Lake George.

Major Washington having heard of the intended attack, and being apprehensive that lieutenant colonel Monro, who then commanded at Fort William Henry, would not be strong enough to resist the French, eagerly interceded with his General to be sent with his forces to the assistance of Monro. But his ardour was restrained; and the unfortunate commander forced to make the best terms he could with the French general, who afterwards, in violation of the treaty that had been made, permitted the Indian savages to fall upon them, and strip them of every thing of value.

The Americans soon afterwards raised Major Washington to the command of a regiment, in which rank he remained till the peace, when he retired to the cultivation and improvement of a very considerable estate he possessed in the province of Virginia.

When

1775. ginia, and who had acquired conſiderable military experience in the command of different bodies of the provincials during the laſt war, to be general and commander in chief of all the American forces. They alſo appointed Artemus Ward, Charles Lee, Philip Schuyler, and Iſrael Putnam, Eſqrs. to be major-generals; and Horatio Gates, Eſq; adjutant-general. Of theſe general officers, Lee and Gates were Engliſh gentlemen, who had acquired honour in the laſt war; and who from diſguſt or principle now joined the Americans. Ward and Putnam were of Maſſachuſett's-Bay, and Schuyler of New-York. The Congreſs alſo fixed and aſſigned the pay of both officers and ſoldiers; the latter of whom were much better provided for than thoſe upon our eſtabliſhment.

July 6th. *Waſhington and Lee* arrive at Boſton

The Generals Waſhington and Lee arrived at the camp before Boſton in the beginning of July. They were treated with the higheſt honours in every place through which they paſſed; were eſcorted by large detachments of volunteers, compoſed of gentlemen, in the different provinces; and received public addreſſes from the provincial congreſſes of New-York and Maſſachuſett's-Bay. The military ſpirit was now ſo high and ſo general, that war and its preparations occupied the hands and the minds of all orders of people throughout the continent. Perſons of fortune and family, who were not appointed officers, entered chearfully as private men, and ſerved with alacrity in the ranks. Even many of the younger quakers forgot their paſſive principles of forbearance and non-reſiſtance, and taking up arms, formed

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When the preſent troubles in America aroſe on account of the famous Tea Act, colonel Waſhington was one of the foremoſt in expreſſing his deteſtation in impoſing a tax on people who were not repreſented; and when a General Congreſs was thought neceſſary to be convened, he was choſen one of the delegates for the province of Virginia, and in that capacity ſigned the aſſociation on Oct. 20th, 1774, and the other ſubſequent publications of that body. The Continental Congreſs appointed General Waſhington to the ſupreme command of their armies, to which commiſſion was addreſſed,—"*To our beloved brother*, George Waſhington, *Eſq; Captain General and Commander in chief of all the Forces of the United Colonies.*" The Congreſs annexed a very conſiderable ſalary to this important poſt, which he nobly refuſed to accept, declaring he would not take wages for his ſervices in the Cauſe of Freedom, but deſired only a reimburſement of the neceſſary expences.

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themſelves into companies at Philadelphia, and applied with the greateſt labour and aſſiduity to acquire a proficiency in military exerciſes and diſcipline. It was ſaid, (but no computation of that ſort can be aſcertained) that no leſs than 200,000 men were in arms and training throughout the continent. 1775.

The blockade of Boſton, was continued with little variety throughout the year, and during a conſiderable part of the enſuing. The troops, as well as the remaining inhabitants, ſuffered much from fevers, fluxes, and the ſcurvy, which were brought on through confinement, heat of weather, and badneſs of proviſions.*

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* To alleviate theſe diſtreſſes, it is ſaid, that no leſs than 5000 oxen, 14000 of the largeſt and fatteſt ſheep, with a vaſt number of hogs, were purchaſed and ſent out alive. Vegetables of all kinds were alſo bought up in incredible quantities, and new arts were employed in curing them. 10000 butts of ſtrong beer, 5000 chaldrons of coals were purchaſed in the river, and ſhipped off for Boſton; even the articles of faggots was ſent from London. The ſeemingly trifling neceſſaries of vegetables, caſks, and vinegar, amount, in two diſtinct articles, where they are detached from the general comprehenſion of other proviſions, near 2200l. And tho' there was but a ſingle regiment of light cavalry at Boſton, the articles of hay, oats, and beans, amounted to nearly as much. The immenſe charge of ſupplying an army at ſuch a diſtance, was now for the firſt time experimentally felt. *Proviſions ſhip'd for* Boſton.

Whether it was, that theſe orders were not iſſued in time, or that delays occurred in the execution, which could neither have been foreſeen or prevented, however it was, the tranſports were not ready to proceed on their voyage, until the year was ſo far advanced as to render it nearly impoſſible. By this means they were detained upon our own coaſts by contrary winds, or toſt about by tempeſts, until the greater part of their live cargoes of hogs and ſheep, particularly the latter periſhed, ſo that the channel was every where ſtrewed with the floating carcaſſes of theſe animals, as they were driven about by the winds and tides. A great part of the vegetables, over fermented and periſhed.

Nor was the condition of the tranſports mended when they got clear of our own coaſts. They were peculiarly unfortunate as to winds and weather in the mid ſeas, and as they approached to the place of their deſtination, the American periodical winds were ſet in, which blew full in their teeth, and drove them off from the coaſts.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Motives which led to the invaſion of Canada. The taking of ſeveral Forts on the Lakes, by Montgomery and Arnold. The city of Quebec beſieged.

1775. AS the hopes of a reconciliation with the mother country, upon the conditions claimed by the Americans, became more faint, ſo they grew more daring in their deſigns, and extended their views to the remote conſequences, as well as to the immediate conduct of a war. The apparent tendency, and avowed deſign of the Quebec act, had early drawn their attention and awakened their apprehenſions, in relation to the dangers with which they were threatened from that quarter. Theſe apprehenſions produced the addreſs to the French inhabitants of Canada, of which we have formerly taken notice.

Motives which led to the invaſion of Canada.

The ſucceſs which attended the expedition to the Lakes, with the reduction of Ticonderoga and Crown-Point, in the beginning of this ſummer, by which, it might be ſaid, that the gates of Canada were thrown open, rendered the affairs of that country more immediately intereſting, and encouraged the Congreſs to a bold meaſure, which they would not otherwiſe perhaps have ventured upon. This was no leſs than the ſending of a force for the invaſion and reduction of that country.

A meaſure of ſo extraordinary a nature required the moſt ſerious conſideration. The commencing of an offenſive war with the Sovereign, was a new and perilous undertaking. It ſeemed totally to change the nature of the ground on which they ſtood in the preſent diſpute. Oppoſition to government had hitherto been conducted on the apparent deſign and avowed principle only, of ſupporting and defending certain rights and immunities of the people, which were ſuppoſed, pretended, to be unjuſtly invaded. Oppoſition, or even reſiſtance, in ſuch a caſe, ſuppoſing the premiſes to be fairly ſtated, is thought by many to be entirely conſiſtent with the principles of the Britiſh conſtitution; and this opinion is ſaid to have received the ſanction of precedents of the firſt authority. At any rate, the queſtions in diſpute were of ſuch a nature, that mankind might for ever be divided in opinion,

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as the matter of right or wrong, juſtice or injuſtice, oppreſ- 1775.
ſion or good government. But to render themſelves at once the aggreſſors, and not content with vindicating their own real or pretended rights, to fly wantonly in the face of the Sovereign, carry war into his dominions, and invade a province to which they could lay no claim, nor pretend no right, ſeemed ſuch an outrage, as not only overthrew every play of juſtifiable reſiſtance, but would militate with the eſtabliſhed opinions, principles, and feelings of manking in general.

On the other hand, the danger was preſſing and great. The extraordinary powers placed in the hands of General Carleton, the Governor of Canada, by a late commiſſion, were new, alarming, and evidently pointed out the purpoſes for which they were granted. By theſe he was authorized to embody and arm the Canadians, to march them out of the country for the ſubjugation of the other colonies, and to proceed even to capital puniſhments, againſt all thoſe, and in all places, whom he ſhould deem rebels and oppoſers of the laws. The ſtrong powers of government which he alſo poſſeſſed within his province, were equal to thoſe of the moſt arbitrary European Monarchs, and had been already felt both by the Engliſh and French ſubjects. Thus, though the Canadians had hitherto refuſed to be embodied, or to march upon any terms out of the province, it was eaſily ſeen, that as ſoon as the Governor's authority was ſupported by the arrival of a body of Engliſh forces, they would be obliged implicitly to obey him, as well in that, as all other matters. He had beſides, already engaged a conſiderable number of the Canada and other Indians in his ſervice, and if his arms once became predominant, the deſire of ſpoil and blood would bring them in crowds from the remoteſt deſarts to his aſſiſtance. Beſides, they were perfectly acquainted with, and therefore had every thing to dread, from the zeal, the ſpirit of enterprize, and the military talents, of that able and reſolute officer.

In theſe circumſtances, conſidering a war not only as inevitable, but as already begun, they deemed it inconſiſtent with reaſon and policy, to wait to be attacked by a formidable force at their backs, in the very inſtant that their utmoſt exertions would be requiſite, and probably inſufficient, for the protection of their capital cities and coaſts, againſt the reſentment of the mighty power whom they had ſo grievouſly offended, and with whom they were entering into ſo untried and arduous a conteſt. They argued, that preventing the known hoſtile intentions of an enemy, by foreſtalling his de-

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1775. ſigns ere they could be carried into execution, was as much a matter of ſelf-defence, and leſs cruel, than waiting to be attacked by him under every diſadvantage, and when he had arrived at his utmoſt force. There was no natural law, nor convention among mankind, by which a perſon is bound to be a ſimple and inactive looker-on, while his enemy was loading a gun for his deſtruction; was he to wait till the execution took place, for fear he ſhould be deemed an aggreſſor? Queſtions in caſuiſtry, however edifying upon other occaſions, have nothing to do in circumſtances upon which the fate of nations depend. Were they only to ſeek a remedy, when the ſavages had penetrated into their country, and the fury of the flames which conſumed their ſettlements, were only retarded by the blood of their women and infants?

The Congreſs were alſo ſenſible, that they had already gone ſuch lengths as could only be juſtified by arms.—The ſword was already drawn, and the appeal made. It was too late now to look back, and to waver would be certain deſtruction. If a certain degree of ſucceſs did not afford a ſanction to their reſiſtance, and diſpoſe the court of Great-Britain to an accommodation upon lenient terms, they would not only looſe thoſe immunities for which they at preſent contended, but all others would lie at the mercy of a jealous and irritated government. In ſuch a ſtate, their moderation in the ſingle inſtance of Canada, they thought, would be a poor plea for compaſſion or indulgence.

The knowledge they had of the preſent ſtate of affairs, and the temper of the people in Canada, alſo contributed much to encourage them in this enterprize. They knew that the *French* inhabitants, excepting the nobleſſe and clergy, were in general as much diſcontented at the overthrow of the Engliſh laws, and the introduction of the preſent ſyſtem of government, as even the Britiſh ſettlers. It ſeemed therefore probable, that this diſcontent, operating with the rooted averſion which they bore to their ancient proud and oppreſſive tyrants, the nobleſſe, or lords of the manors, and the mortal dread which they entertained of being again reduced to their former ſtate of feudal and military vaſſalage, would induce them to conſider the Provincials rather as friends than invaders, and to embrace ſo favourable an opportunity of obtaining a ſhare in that freedom for which they were contending. Though they were perfectly unacquainted with the nature of the particular controverſy, and little intereſted in it, it ſeemed to be for freedom, and American freedom, and

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the name of it was pleaſing. It was in favour of colonies; and Canada was a colony. 1775.

The Congreſs accordingly determined not to loſe the preſent favourable opportunity, while the Britiſh arms were weak and cooped up in Boſton, for attempting the reduction of that province. The Generals Schuyler and Montgomery, with two regiments of New-York militia, a body of New-England men, and ſome others, amounting in the whole to near 3000 men, were appointed to this ſervice. A number of batteaux, or flat boats, were built at Ticonderoga or Crown Point, to convey the forces along Lake Champlain to the River Sorel, which forms the entrance into Canada, and is compoſed of the ſurplus waters of the lakes, which it diſcharges into the river St. Lawrence, and would afford a happy communication between both, were it not for ſome rapids that obſtruct the navigation.

Not above half the forces were yet arrived, when Montgomery, who was at Crown-point, received ſome intelligence which rendered him apprehenſive that a ſchooner of conſiderable force, with ſome other armed veſſels, which lay at the Fort of St. John's, on the river Sorel, were preparing to enter the Lake, and thereby effectually obſtruct their paſſage. He thereupon, in the latter end of Auguſt, proceeded with ſuch force as he had to the iſle Aux Noix, which lies in the entrance of the river, and took neceſſary meaſures to guard againſt the paſſage of thoſe veſſels into the lake.—— Schuyler, who at that time commanded in chief, having alſo arrived from Albany, they publiſhed a declaration to encourage the Canadians to join them, and with the ſame hope or deſign, puſhed on to the fort of St. John, which lies only about a dozen miles from the iſland. The fire from the Fort, as well as the ſtrong appearances of force and reſiſtance which they obſerved, occaſioned their landing at a conſiderable diſtance, in a country compoſed of thick woods, deep ſwamps, and interſected with creeks and waters. In this ſituation they were vigorouſly attacked by a conſiderable body of Indians, who did not neglect the advantages which they derived from it; along with which, finding that the Fort was well garriſoned and provided, they found it neceſſary the next day to return to their former ſtation on the iſland, and to defer their operations until the arrival of the artiliery and reinforcements which were expected. Sept. 6th

Schuyler upon this retreat returned to Albany, to conclude a treaty which he had for ſome time been negociating with the Indians in that quarter, and found himſelf afterwards ſo occupi- Schuyler returns to Albany.

1775. occupied by buſineſs, or broken in upon by illneſs, that the whole weight and danger of the Canada war fell upon Montgomery, a man moſt eminently qualified for any military ſervice. His firſt meaſure was to detach thoſe Indians who had joined General Carleton from his ſervice, and being ſtrengthened by the arrival of his reinforcements and artillery, he prepared to lay ſiege to the fort of St. John. This fort was garriſoned by the greater part of the 7th and 26th regiments, being nearly all the regular troops, then in Canada; and was well provided with ſtores, ammunition, and artillery.

The provincial parties were ſpread over the adjacent country, and were every where received with open arms by the Canadians, who beſides joining them in conſiderable numbers, gave them every poſſible aſſiſtance, whether in carrying on the ſiege, removing their artillery, or ſupplying them with proviſions and neceſſaries. In this ſtate of things, the adventurer Ethan Allen, who without any commiſſion from the Congreſs, had a principal ſhare in the original expedition to the lakes, and the capture of the forts, and who ſince, under the title of colonel, ſeems rather to have acted as a partizan, than as obedient to any regular command, thought to ſignalize, and raiſe himſelf into importance, by ſurprizing the town of Montreal. This raſh enterprize he undertook at the head of a ſmall party of Engliſh Provincials and Canadians, without the knowledge of the commander in chief, or the aſſiſtance which he might have procured, from ſome of the other detached parties. The event was ſuitable to the temerity of the undertaking. Being met at ſome diſtance from the town, by the militia, under the command of Engliſh officers, and ſupported by the few regulars who were in the place, he was defeated and taken priſoner, with near forty of his party, the reſt who ſurvived eſcaping in the woods. Allen, with his fellow-priſoners, were by General Carleton's orders loaded with irons, and ſent in that condition on board of a man of war to England, from whence, however, they were in ſome time remanded back to America.

Ethan Allen and his party made priſoners.

Sept. 23,

The progreſs of Montgomery was for ſome time retarded by a want of ammunition ſufficient for carrying on a ſiege; which of all operations demands the greateſt ſupply of powder and ball. The fort of St. John's, which commands the entrance into Canada, could not be reduced without a tolerable proviſion of that kind. A fortunate event diſengaged him from this difficulty. A little Fort called *Chamble* lay deeper in the country, and ſeemed covered by St. John's. It

Fort Chamble taken.

It was garriſoned by a ſmall detachment of the 7th regiment, and was in no very defenſible condition. To this he turned his firſt thoughts, and by puſhing forward a party joined by ſome Canadians, he eaſily made himſelf maſter of that fort. Here he found conſiderable ſtores; but the article of greateſt conſequence to him was the gunpowder, which they were much diſtreſſed for; and of which they took above 120 barrels. This acquiſition facilitated the ſiege of St. John's, which had languiſhed for want of ammunition. 1775.

The garriſon of St. John's, under the command of Major Preſton, amounted to between 6 and 700 men, of which about 500 were regulars, and the reſt Canadian volunteers. They endured the difficulties and hardſhips of a very long ſiege, augmented by a ſcarcity of proviſions, with unabating conſtancy and reſolution. In the mean time, General Carleton was indefatigable in his endeavours to raiſe a force ſufficient for its relief. Attempts had been for ſome time made by Colonel M'Lean, for raiſing a Scotch regiment, under the title of Royal Highland Emigrants, to be compoſed of natives of that country who had lately arrived in America, and who in conſequence of the troubles had not obtained ſettlements. With theſe, and ſome Canadians, to the amount of a few hundred men, the Colonel was poſted near the junction of the Sorel with the river St. Lawrence. The General was at Montreal, where, with the greateſt difficulty, and by every poſſible means he had got together near a thouſand men, compoſed principally of Canadians, with a few regulars, and ſome Engliſh officers and volunteers. With theſe he intended a junction with M'Lean, and then to have marched directly to the relief of St. John's. But upon his attempting to paſs over from the iſland of Montreal, he was encountered at Longueil by a party of the Provincials, who eaſily repulſed the Canadians, and put a ſtop to the whole deſign. Another party had puſhed M'Lean towards the mouth of the Sorel, where the Canadians having received advice of the Governor's defeat, immediately abandoned him to a man, and he was obliged to make the beſt of his way to Quebec, with the emigrants.

Fort of St. John's beſieged.

Carleton's defeat at *Longueil.*

In the mean time, Montgomery puſhed on the ſiege of St. John's with great vigour, had advanced his works very near the body of the fort, and was making preparations for a general aſſault. Nor was there leſs alacrity in the defence, the ſpirit as well as the fire of the garriſon being equally ſupported to the laſt. In this ſtate of things, an account of the ſucceſs at Longueil, accompanied by the priſoners who were

1775. taken, arrived at the camp, upon which Montgomery ſent a flag and a letter by one of them to Major Preſton, hoping that as all means of relief were now cut off by the Governor's defeat, he would, by a timely ſurrender of the fort, prevent that farther effuſion of blood, which a fruitleſs and obſtinate defence muſt neceſſarily occaſion.

The major endeavoured to obtain a few days time in hopes of being relieved; but this was refuſed, on account of the lateneſs and ſeverity of the ſeaſon; he alſo endeavoured, in ſettling the terms of capitulation, to obtain liberty for the garriſon to depart for Great-Britain, which proved equally fruitleſs, and they were obliged, after being allowed the honours of war on account of their brave defence, to lay down
Nov. 3d. their arms, and ſurrender themſelves priſoners. They were
St. John's allowed their baggage and effects, the officers to wear their
taken. ſwords, and their other arms to be preſerved for them till the troubles were at an end. In all tranſactions with our forces, Montgomery writ, ſpoke, and behaved with that attention, regard, and politeneſs, to both private men and officers, which might be expected from a man of worth and honour, who found himſelf involved in an unhappy quarrel with his friends and countrymen. All the priſoners were ſent up the Lakes by the way of Ticonderoga, to thoſe interior parts of the colonies which were beſt adapted to provide for their reception and ſecurity. The Provincials found a conſiderable quantity of artillery and uſeful ſtores in the place.

Upon M'Lean's retreat to Quebec, the party who had reduced him to that neceſſity, immediately erected batteries on a point of land at the junction of the Sorel with the river St. Lawrence, in order to prevent the eſcape down the latter of a number of armed veſſels, which General Carleton had at Montreal; they alſo conſtructed armed rafts and floating batteries for the ſame purpoſe. Theſe meaſures effectually prevented the paſſage of General Carleton's armament to Quebec, which were not only foiled in ſeveral attempts, but purſued, attacked, and driven from their anchors up the river by the Provincials; ſo that as General Montgomery approached Montreal immediately after the ſurrender of St. John's, the Governor's ſituation, whether in the town or aboard the veſſels, became equally critical.

Montreal This danger was ſoon increaſed by the arrival of General
taken. Montgomery at Montreal, where a capitulation was propoſed by the principal French and Engliſh inhabitants, including a kind of general treaty, which Montgomery refuſed, as they were in no ſtate of defence to entitle them to a capitulation,

and

and were unable to fulfil the conditions on their part. He, however, gave them a written anſwer, in which he declared, That the Continental army having a generous diſdain of every act of oppreſſion and violence, and having come for the expreſs purpoſe of giving liberty and ſecurity, he, therefore, engaged his honour to maintain, in the peaceable poſſeſſion of their property of every kind, the individuals and religious communities of the city of Montreal. He engaged for the maintenance of all the inhabitants in the free exerciſe of their religion; hoped that the civil and religious rights of all the Canadians would be eſtabliſhed upon the moſt permanent footing by a Provincial Congreſs; promiſed that courts of juſtice ſhould be ſpeedily eſtabliſhed upon the moſt liberal plan, conformable to the Britiſh Conſtitution; and, in general, complied with other articles, ſo far as they were conſiſtent, and in his power. This ſecurity being given to the people, his troops took poſſeſſion of the town. 1775.

Nothing could now afford the ſlighteſt hope of the preſervation of any part of Canada but the lateneſs of the ſeaſon. Whether through inability for ſo great an enterprize, or from difference of opinion, the invaſion of that province was not undertaken until the ſeaſon for military operations was nearly paſſed. To balance this, there remained but an handful of regular troops in Canada, and the taking of General Carleton, which ſeemed nearly certain, would have rendered its fate inevitable. Fortune, however, determined otherwiſe, and at the time that all hopes of the armed veſſels being able to get down the river were given up, and that Montgomery was preparing batteaux with light artillery at Montreal to attack them on that ſide, and force them down upon the batteries, means were ſucceſsfully taken for conveying the Governor, in a dark night, in a boat with muffled paddles, paſt the enemies guards and batteries, and he arrived ſafely at Quebec, which he found environed with danger from an unexpected quarter. As it was impracticable to ſave the ſhips, General Preſcot was obliged to enter into a capitulation with the Provincials, by which the whole of the river naval force, conſiſting of eleven armed veſſels, was ſurrendered into their hands, the General himſelf, with ſeveral other officers, ſome gentlemen in the civil department, Canadian volunteers, and near 120 Engliſh ſoldiers, all of whom had taken refuge on board upon the approach of General Montgomery to Montreal, becoming priſoners of war.

Carleton retires to Quebec.

Armed veſſels ſurrender

Whilſt

1775. Sep. 31th Col. Arnold's ſurpriſing expedition to Quebec, by land.

Whilſt the Provincials were thus carrying on the war in Upper Canada from the New-York ſide, and by the old beaten courſe of the Lakes, an expedition, conſiderably diſtinguiſhed by its novelty, ſpirit, enterprize, by the difficulties that oppoſed, and the conſtancy that ſucceeded in its execution, was undertaken directly againſt the lower part of the province and city of Quebec, from the New-England ſide, by a route which had hitherto been untried, and conſidered as impracticable. This expedition was undertaken by Colonel Arnold, who about the middle of September, at the head of two regiments, conſiſting of about 1100 men, marched from the camp near Boſton, to Newbury-Port, at the mouth of the river Merrimack, where veſſels were in readineſs to convoy them by ſea to the mouth of the river Kennebec, in New-Hampſhire; a voyage of about forty leagues.

On the 22d of the ſame month they embarked their ſtores and troops in 200 batteaux, at Gardiner's Town, on the Kennebec, and proceeded with great difficulty up that river, having a rapid ſtream, with a rocky bottom and ſhores, continually interrupted by falls and carrying places, with numberleſs other impediments to encounter. In this paſſage the batteaux were frequently filled with water, or overſet; in conſequence of which a part of their arms, ammunition, and proviſions were ſometimes loſt. At the numerous carrying places, beſides the labour of loading and reloading, they were obliged to convey the boats on their ſhoulders. The great carrying place was above twelves miles acroſs. That part of the detachment which was not employed in the batteaux, marched along the banks of the river, and the boats and men being diſpoſed in three diviſions, each diviſion encamped together every night. Nor was the march by land more eligible than the paſſage by water. They had thick woods, deep ſwamps, difficult mountains, and precipices, alternately to encounter, and were at times obliged to cut their way for miles together through the thickets. At the carrying places they were obliged to traverſe the ſame ground ſeveral times heavy loaded. From all theſe impediments their progreſs was of courſe very ſlow, being in general only from 4 or 5 to 9 or 10 miles a day. The conſtant fatigue and labour cauſed many to fall ſick, which added to their difficulties, and proviſions grew at length ſo ſcarce, that ſome of the men eat their dogs, and whatever elſe of any kind that could be converted to food.

When

When they arrived at the head of the Kennebec, they sent back their sick, and one of the Colonels took that opportunity of returning with his division, under pretence of the scarcity of provisions, without the consent or knowledge of the Commander in Chief, who had marched forwards. By this desertion, and the sick that were returned, Arnold's detachment were reduced to about one third of its original number. They, however, proceeded with their usual constancy; and having crossed the heights of land, as a ridge that extends quite through the continent is called, and from whence the waters on either side, take courses directly contrary to those on the other, they at length arrived at the head of the river Chandiere, which running through Canada, falls into the river St. Lawrence, near Quebec. Their difficulties now were growing to an end, and they soon approached the inhabited parts of Canada; on the 3d of November, a party which they had pushed forward returned with provisions and they soon after came to a house, being the first they had beheld for thirty-one days, having spent that whole time in traversing an hideous wilderness, without ever meeting any thing human. 1775. Nov. 3d. Arnold enters the river St. Lawrence.

The Canadians received them here with the same good will that Montgomery's corps had experienced in the neighbourhood of Montreal; they supplied them liberally with provisions and necessaries, and rendered them every other assistance in their power. Arnold immediately published an address to the people signed by General Washington, of the same nature with that which had been before issued by Schuyler and Montgomery. They were invited to join with the other colonies in an indissoluble union. To range themselves under the standard of general liberty. They were informed, that the armament was sent into the province, not to plunder, but to protect and animate them; that they themselves were enjoined to act, and to consider themselves, as in the country of their best friends; they were requested, therefore, not to desert their habitations, nor fly from their friends; but to provide them with such supplies as their country afforded; and he pledged himself for their safety and security, as well as for an ample compensation. His Address to the Canadians.

The city of Quebec was at this time in a state of great weakness, as well as internal discontent and disorder. The British merchants and inhabitants had been long much disgusted and dissatisfied. Their opposition to the Quebec Act, and the petitions which they had sent to England upon that subject, had been grievously resented by their own government; State of affairs at Quebec.

1775. vernment; and from that period, they had, as the diſcontented ſaid, not only been ſlighted and treated with indifference; but even regarded with an apparent eye of diſtruſt and ſuſpicion. They complained, that as the great political object in that country, was to attach the native Canadians inviolably to government, ſo the French nobleſſe, and civil officers, became, excepting the Britiſh military, the only favourites; and theſe having ſoon acquired the manners and affectations of all other courtiers and favourites, paſſed no occaſion to inſult the Engliſh as malcontents, with the violence of their zeal, and the outrageouſneſs of their loyalty. They repreſented, that theſe new courtiers induſtriouſly brought up queſtions upon public affairs, and diſcourſes upon government in their company, and then conſtrued that freedom of opinion, which the native Engliſh had derived from nature and habit, as well as from preſent diſcontent, as proceeding from real ill deſign and diſaffection. There needs not a ſtronger proof how little they were truſted or regarded, than that when the troops were ſent off to Montreal and the Sorel to oppoſe the rebels, notwithſtanding the very alarming ſtate of public affairs, and that the city, together with the large property which they poſſeſſed in it, were left expoſed without a garriſon; yet their application for leave to be embodied as a militia for its defence, ſo far from being complyed with, was not even, as they affirmed, deemed worthy of an anſwer. How much of this repreſentation was the mere effect of diſcontent, we cannot undertake to ſay. It is certain that great heartburnings and animoſities prevailed among the Engliſh civil ſubjects and the military power in that government, which the Quebec act irritated and inflamed to a high degree.

Neither does it appear that any great reliance could be placed at that time upon the the French inhabitants for the defence of the city. Many of them were at leaſt wavering, and ſome worſe. As to other matters, there were no troops of any ſort in the place, until M'Lean's handful of new raiſed emigrants arrived from the Sorel. Some marines which the Governor had ſent for to Boſton, were refuſed by a naval council of war, from the lateneſs of the ſeaſon, and the danger of the navigation. The militia, however, had been lately embodied by the Lieutenant-Governor.

Nov. 9th. Arnold appears before Quebec, Such was the ſtate of affairs at Quebec, when Arnold and his party appeared at Point Levi, oppoſite the town. The river was fortunately between them, and the boats ſecured, otherwiſe it ſeems highly probable that they would have become

come maſters of the place in the firſt ſurpriſe and confuſion. 1775.
This defect was indeed remedied in a few days by the alacrity of the Canadians, who ſupplied them with canoes, and they effected their paſſage in a dark night, notwithſtanding the vigilance of the armed veſſels and frigates of war in the river. But the critical moment was now paſſed. The diſcontented inhabitants, Engliſh and Canadians, as ſoon as danger preſſed, united for their common defence. They became ſeriouſly alarmed for the immenſe property which Quebec contained. They deſired to be, and were, embodied and armed. The ſailors had landed, and were at the batteries to ſerve the guns, the defendants were conſiderably ſuperiour in number to the aſſailants, and Arnold had no artillery. In theſe circumſtances, his only hope muſt have been the defection of the inhabitants; and diſappointed in that, nothing remained practicable for him, but intercepting the roads, and cutting off the ſupplies, until the arrival of Montgomery, He accordingly paraded for ſome days on the heights near the town, and ſent two flags to ſummon the inhabitants; but they were fired at, and no meſſage admitted; upon which, he at length drew off his detachment into quarters of refreſhment.

In the mean time, Montgomery having found plenty of woollen manufactures, and other articles of wear, at Montreal, took that opportunity of new-cloathing his troops, who had ſuffered exceſſively from the ſeverity of the climate, the deepneſs of the roads, and the want of covering ſuitable to ſuch circumſtances. Notwithſtanding the flattering appearance of his ſucceſſes, the ſituation of that commander was far from being enviable; and indeed was attended with continual and growing difficulties, that nothing leſs than his own genius could ſurmount. The difficulty of conducting and governing an army, compoſed wholly of new ſoldiers, and theſe led directly from their civil occupations to the field, even ſuppoſing them raiſed in old countries, and where ſubordination is the moſt perfectly eſtabliſhed, will be conceived by thoſe perſons who are the moſt converſant in military affairs. But here the troops were compoſed of men the moſt unuſed, and who from principles, habits, and manner of life, were the moſt averſe to every idea of ſubordination, of any civilized people in the known world; they were to be trained on through numberleſs wants and diſtreſſes, through ſtrange and deſart countries, and when arrived at the ſcene of action, with arms in their hands, in all the wantonneſs of military parade, their wants were to be endur'd, their appetites reſtrain'd,

and

1775. and their licentiouſneſs controuled, for fear of alienating the affections of the Canadians, while every appearance of a harſh or ſtrict military diſcipline was equally to be avoided, under the dread of their own defection. They were beſides only enliſted for a certain ſhort term, according to the uſual practice of the colonies; and as the time of their diſcharge now drew near, there was nothing but the name of their leader, and affection to his perſon, to keep them longer together.

General Carleton arrived at Quebec about the time that Arnold's detachment had retired from its neighbourhood, and immediately took ſuch meaſures for its defence, as were ſuitable to that military character which he had long eſtabliſhed. His firſt act was to oblige all thoſe to quit the town with their families, who refuſed to take up arms in its defence. The garriſon, including all others who did duty, conſiſted of about 1500 men, a number, ſuppoſing them even the beſt troops, totally unequal to the defence of ſuch extenſive works, if an equal weakneſs had not prevailed on the ſide of the beſiegers. Of theſe, it could ſcarcely be ſaid that any were regulars, M'Lean's corps being newly raiſed, and the only company of the 7th regiment which had eſcaped being taken, conſiſting principally of recruits; the reſt were compoſed of the Britiſh and French militia, a few marines, and about 450 ſeamen, belonging to the King's frigates, and to the merchant ſhips that wintered in the harbour. Theſe laſt, habituated to the management of great guns, and to prompt manœuvres were the real ſtrength of the garriſon.

Is joined by Gen. Montgomery.

Montgomery, having left ſome troops in Montreal and the forts, and ſent detachments into different parts of the province, to encourage the Canadians, as well as to forward ſupplies of proviſions and neceſſaries, puſhed on with as many men as could be ſpared from theſe ſervices, and ſuch artillery as he could procure, to join Arnold. Their march was in winter; through bad roads, in a ſevere climate; beneath the fall of the firſt ſnows, and therefore made under great hardſhips; which, however, they encountered with equal reſolution; and arrived with incredible expedition at Quebec.

Dec. 5th The city ſummoned.

Upon their arrival before the town, Montgomery wrote a letter to the Governor, magnifying his own ſtrength, ſtating the weakneſs of the garriſon, ſhewing the impoſſibility of relief, and recommending an immediate ſurrender, to avoid the dreadful conſequences which muſt attend a ſtorm, irritated, as he ſaid, his victorious troops were, at the injurious and cruel treatment which they had in various

particulars

particulars received at his hands. Though the flag that conveyed this letter, as well as every other was fired at, and all communication abſolutely forbidden by the Governor, Montgomery, found other means to convey a letter of the ſame nature; but neither threats nor dangers could produce any effect upon the inflexible firmneſs of the veteran Governor. 1775.

It does not appear that Montgomery's forces were very much ſuperior in number or quality, to thoſe, ſuch as they were, who defended the town. His only proſpect of ſucceſs ſeemed therefore to be founded upon the impreſſion which the parade of his preparations, and the violence of his attacks might make upon the motley garriſon, or if thoſe failed, to weary them out by continual motions and falſe alarms. He accordingly commenced a bombardment, with five ſmall mortars, which continued for ſome days, and might have been ſuppoſed to have anſwered the former of thoſe intentions, by throwing the garriſon into diſorder; but the intrepidity of the Governor, ſeconded by the bravery, indefatigable induſtry and perſeverance of the chief officers, as well as the activity of the ſeamen and marines, prevented the expected effect. We muſt do juſtice alſo to the garriſon in general, who nobly followed the example, and ſupported the bravery of their commanders, and endured the incommodities, wants and diſtreſſes, incident to ſo long a ſiege, joined to a moſt grievouſly ſevere and unremitted duty, with wonderful conſtancy and reſolution. Siege.

In a few days Montgomery opened a ſix-gun battery at about 700 yards diſtance from the walls; but his metal was too light to produce any conſiderable effect. In the mean time the ſnow lay deep upon the ground, and the ſeverity of the climate was ſuch, that human nature ſeemed incapable of withſtanding its force in the field. The hardſhips and fatigues which the Provincial ſoldiers underwent, both from the ſeaſon, and the ſmallneſs of their number, ſeemed incredible, and could only be endured from their enthuſiaſtic adherence to their cauſe, and through the affection or eſteem which they bore to their General. This conſtancy muſt however fail, if the evils were increaſed, or too long continued. The time for which many of the ſoldiers had engaged was alſo expired, or expiring; and it could not be anſwered how ſoon they might inſiſt upon returning home, nor whether ſuch an event would not totally break up the little army. It is ſaid, that the New-York men were too ſenſible of the climate, and did not ſhew the vigour or perſeverance of

1775. those hardy New-Englanders who had traverſed the deſarts with Arnold.

Attempt to take Quebec. by eſcalade.

In theſe circumſtances, Montgomery thought that ſomething deciſive muſt immediately be done, or that the benefit of his paſt ſucceſſes would, in a great degree, be loſt to the cauſe in which he was engaged, and his own renown, which now ſhone in great luſtre, be dimmed, if not obſcured. He knew the Americans would conſider Quebec as taken from the inſtant that they had heard of his arrival before it. That the higher their expectations were raiſed, the more grievous the diſappointment would be in caſe of a failure. Their confidence of ſucceſs was founded upon the high opinion which they held of his courage and ability; to forfeit that opinion, was the worſt of all poſſible conſequences. Yet, to attempt the city by ſtorm, with a garriſon equal in number to the aſſailants, and the great natural ſtrength of the upper town to encounter, which is one of thoſe places that are uſually called impregnable, ſeemed an effort truly deſperate. But great minds are ſeldom good calculators of danger; and if the glory in view be great, do not minutely attend to the difficulties which lie in their way to that object. Indeed, the moſt illuſtrious military atchievements, in all ages, have owed their ſucceſs to a noble contempt of common forms, and common calculations. Fortune, in contempt of the pride of man, ever was, and ever will be, the great arbiter in war. Upon the whole, Montgomery, depending much upon fortune, and not a little upon the nature and diſpoſition of the garriſon, determined upon a deſperate attempt to carry the place by eſcalade.

Whilſt he was making the neceſſary preparations for this purpoſe, it is ſaid the garriſon received intelligence of it by ſome deſerters, and that he perceived, by their motions, that they were not only acquainted with the general deſign, but with the particular mode of carrying it into execution, which they were accordingly preparing with the utmoſt vigour and order to oppoſe. This untoward circumſtance, rendered a total change in his original diſpoſitions neceſſary, and it is not impoſſible, that this diſarrangement had a conſiderable influence on the ſucceeding events. However that was, early in the morning, on the laſt day of the year 1775, and under the cover of a violent ſnow ſtorm, he proceeded to this arduous attempt. He had diſpoſed of his little army in four diviſions, of which two carried on falſe attacks againſt the upper town, whilſt himſelf and Arnold conducted two real againſt oppoſite parts of the lower. By this means the alarm

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was general in both towns, and might have diſconcerted the moſt experienced troops: from the ſide of the river St. Lawrence, along the fortified front, and round to the Baſon, every part ſeemed equally threatened, if not equally in danger. 1775.

About five o'clock, Montgomery, at the head of the New-York troops, advanced againſt the lower town, at Aunce de Mere, under Cape Diamond; but from ſome difficulties which intervened in his approach, the ſignal for engaging had been given, and the garriſon alarmed, before he could reach the place. He however preſſed on in a narrow file, upon a ſcanty path, with a precipice to the river on one ſide, and an hanging rock over him; ſeized and paſſed the firſt barrier, and accompanied by a few of his braveſt officers and men, marched boldly at the head of the detachment to attack the ſecond. This barrier was much ſtronger than the firſt. Several cannon were there planted, loaded with grape ſhot. From theſe, as well as from a well-directed and ſupported fire of muſquetry, an end was at once put to the hopes of this enterprizing officer, and to the fortune of his party in Canada. The General himſelf, with his Aid de Camp, ſome other officers, and moſt of thoſe who were near his perſon, fell upon the ſpot.* The command devolved upon a Mr. Campbell, Montgomery killed.

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* Thus fell RICHARD MONTGOMERY, Eſq; who was a gentleman of excellent family in the North of Ireland, and brother to *Alex. Montgomery*, Eſq; one of the preſent knights of the ſhire for the county of Donegal. Both theſe gentlemen ſerved their country, in the late wars, under General Wolfe, with the greateſt military abilities; and about the year 1763, the preſent ſurvivor of the two, threw up his commiſſion under L. T. to have an opportunity of adjuſting a certain affair of honor, wherein he thought himſelf ſlighted by the preferring of a junior officer to a rank he ſhould have ſucceeded to. The conſtituents of the county of Donegal, in teſtimony of their entire approbation of his martial conduct, generouſly preſented him with his ſeat in parliament, for that county, at the late general election, free of all expence, where he has now an opportunity of ſhining with equal luſtre in the cabinet, that he formerly did in the field. *Character*

The excellency of *Richard*'s qualifications and diſpoſition (who thus fell in the prime of life) had procured him an uncommon ſhare of private affection, as his abilities had of public eſteem; and there was probably no man engaged on the ſame ſide, and few on either, whoſe loſs would have been ſo much regretted both in England

1775. Mr. Campbell, who immediately retired without any further effort. Whether he yielded too eaſily to the firſt impreſſion, as the Americans aſſerted, it is impoſſible for thoſe who are not perfectly acquainted with all the particulars to determine.

Campbell retreats.

In the mean time, Arnold, with a body of thoſe troops who had originally ſignalized themſelves by the memorable expedition under his command into Canada, ſupported by ſome New-York artillery, made their attempt on that part of the town called the Saut au Matelot, and having penetrated through St. Roques, they attacked a ſmall but well defended battery, which they carried with conſiderable loſs, after an hour's ſharp engagement. They had likewiſe the misfortune upon this occaſion to be left without a commander; for Arnold's leg being ſhattered by a ſhot, he was neceſſarily carried off to the camp. His place was, however, well ſupplied by the goodneſs of the officers, and the reſolution of

Arnold ſupports the ſiege.

Arnold wounded

England and America. He is repreſented as a real and eager lover of Liberty; and having married a lady, and purchaſed an eſtate in New-York, was from thence induced to conſider himſelf as an American. Thus, ſay his friends, he was led by principle, to quit the ſweets of an eaſy fortune, the enjoyment of a loved and philoſophical rural life, with the higheſt domeſtic felicity, to take an active ſhare in all the miſeries and dangers of the preſent troubles. He had undoubtedly conſiderable, and probably great, military abilities; and it remains to be lamented, that a man who ſeemed ſo well formed to ſupport the intereſts and glory of his country againſt her natural foes, ſhould have periſhed in an unnatural and moſt unhappy civil conteſt. In America, he was revered as a martyr to the cauſe of human nature, and the liberties of mankind. What was more extraordinary, the moſt powerful ſpeakers in the Britiſh parliament diſplayed their eloquence in praiſing his virtues and lamenting his fate. A great orator, and veteran fellow-ſoldier of his in the late war, ſhed abundance of tears, whilſt he expatiated on their faſt friendſhip and participation of ſervice in that ſeaſon of enterprize and glory. Even the miniſter extolled his virtues, while he condemned the rebellious cauſe they were employed in, and the fatal effects which their miſtaken application had produced.

All enmity to this veteran ſoldier expired with his life, and reſpect to his private character prevailed over all other conſiderations. By the orders of General Carleton, his dead body received every poſſible mark of diſtinction from the victors, and was interred in Quebec, on the 1ſt day of Jan. 1776, with all the military honours due to a brave ſoldier.

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the men; who being ignorant of Montgomery's misfortune, were so far from being dispirited by their own, that they pushed on with great vigour, and made themselves masters of another barrier. 1775.

The garrison now being recovered from their surprize, and their hands cleared in all other quarters, had time to attend to the situation of Arnold's division, and to perceive the opportunity which was offered of cutting them off. Their situation was such, that in attempting a retreat, they must pass for a considerable way within fifty yards of the walls, exposed to the whole fire of the garrison. To render their fate inevitable, a considerable detachment, with several field pieces, issued through a gate which commanded that passage, and attacked them furiously in the rear, whilst they were already fully occupied in every other part, by the troops which now poured upon them from all quarters. In these desperate circumstances, without a possibility of escape, attacked on all sides, and under every disadvantage of ground as well as number, they obstinately defended themselves for three hours, and at length surrendered prisoners of war.

The prisoners were treated with the greatest humanity by General Carleton; a conduct, which the habitual military severity of his temper, rendered the more honourable. It appears by comparing different circumstances previous and subsequent to this engagement, that the rebels, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, did not lose fewer than half their number; and a letter from Arnold, written soon after, states their remaining force at only 700 men.

The Governor and officers acquired great and deserved honour by this defence, and the behaviour of the raw garrison would have done credit to veterans. It afforded an instance, how far the conduct and example of a few brave and experienced officers might operate, in rendering the rawest and worst formed troops respectable. Indeed, the emulation arising between the different orders of men which composed the garrison, probably converted an apparent weakness into a real strength.

Provincials retire from before the walls.

The besiegers immediately quitted their camp, and retired about three miles from the city, where they strengthened their quarters in the best manner they were able, being apprehensive of a pursuit and attack from the garrison. The latter, however, though now superior in number, were unfit for a service of that nature, and their able Governor, with a degree of wisdom and sobriety equal to his intrepidity and firmness, contented himself with the unexpected advantage

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1775. and ſecurity he had gained, without hazarding the fate of the province, and perhaps of America, in any raſh enterprize. The city was now completely out of danger, and the great ſuccours which were expected, could not fail to relieve the whole province.

By the death of Montgomery, the command of the American army devolved upon Arnold,* whoſe wound rendered him, for the preſent, unequal to ſo arduous a taſk. Their perſeverance was, however, aſtoniſhing in their circumſtances. They had loſt beſides their General, (in whom it might be ſaid all their hopes and confidence reſided) the beſt of their officers, and the braveſt of their fellows, with a part of their ſmall artillery. The hope of aſſiſtance was diſtant, and at beſt, the arrival of ſuccours muſt be ſlow. It was well known that the Canadians, beſides being naturally quick and fickle in their reſolutions, were peculiarly diſpoſed to be biaſſed by ſucceſs, ſo that their aſſiſtance now grew extremely precarious. The ſeverity of a Canada winter, was alſo far beyond any thing they were acquainted with, and the ſnow lay above four feet deep upon a level. In theſe circumſtances, it required no ſmall ſhare of activity, as well as addreſs, to keep them in any manner together. Arnold, who had hitherto diſplayed uncommon talents in his march into Canada, (which may be compared to the greateſt things done in that kind) diſcovered on this occaſion the utmoſt vigour of a determined mind, and a genius full of reſources. Defeated and wounded as he was, he put his troops into ſuch a ſituation as to keep them ſtill formidable. He diſpatched an expreſs to Wooſter, who was at Montreal, to bring ſuccours, and to aſſume the command; but as this could not be done immediately, he bore up with the force he had againſt the difficulties with which he was ſurrounded. From that time, the ſiege was for ſome months converted into a blockade, and Arnold found means effectually to obſtruct the arrival of any ſupplies of proviſions or neceſſaries in the town.

* It is unneceſſary here to trouble the reader with any detached account of this gentleman. His character as a ſoldier, (if not ſufficiently delineated in this wonderful expedition of his to Canada to ſtamp his fame,) fully opens itſelf in the ſucceeding campaigns of theſe unhappy troubles, where we ſee this brave American, animated with the love of his country, and in ſupport of what he calls her rights and liberties, always foremoſt in every perilous attempt to her reſcue.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Tranſactions in the provinces of Virginia, *the* North *and* South Carolinas, *with the general occurrences of other colonies in the year* 1775.

1775.

Virginia.

DURING theſe proceedings in Canada, a long courſe of jealouſy, diſtruſt, ſuſpicion, and altercation, between the Governor, and the major part of the governed, in the colony of Virginia, finally terminated in open hoſtility, and a ruinous, inteſtinal, and predatory war. Theſe unhappy effects aroſe (as is too frequently the caſe) from a cauſe apparently unimportant; but as the heat of controverſy nouriſhed the quarrel, ſo mutual diſtruſt and apprehenſion ſupplied the place of an object.

The people of that colony, as we have formerly ſhewn, had been at leaſt as forward as any other, in all the common acts, of ſending Delegates to the General Congreſs, acceding to its decrees, under whatever form or title they were iſſued, and in the inſtituting of committees, and the entering into aſſociations, among themſelves. They were alſo among the freeſt in expreſſing their reſolution, and the readieſt in ſhewing their determination, to ſupport at all riſques and events, what they deemed, or termed, the rights of America. But in other reſpects, the greateſt order and quiet was preſerved in that province; and notwithſtanding the uneaſineſs excited by the prorogation or diſſolution of their aſſemblies, and the conſequent expiration of their militia laws, (which, in a country where a great majority of the people are in a ſtate of ſlavery, was a circumſtance of the moſt alarming nature, and which might have been attended with the moſt fatal conſequences) yet with theſe cauſes of complaint, the people ſeemed to pay a more than common degree of attention and perſonal regard to the Earl of Dunmore, their Governor.

Provincial congreſs meet.

Mar. 6th

Militia embodied.

In this ſtate of things, however, the want of a legal aſſembly, ſeemed to give ſome ſanction to the holding of a convention, a Provincial Congreſs was aſſembled in the month of March, 1775, who immediately (under the cover of an old law of the year 1738, which they ſaid to be ſtill effective) took meaſures for arraying the militia; but to ſupply in ſome degree thoſe defects in that law, to remedy which, as they pretended, all ſubſequent ones had been paſſed, they

1775. recommended to each county to raiſe a volunteer company, for the better defence and protection of the country.

Ap. 20th Powder removed from the magazine at *Williamſburgh.*

This interference in the militia, probably alarmed the Governor, and ſeems to have been the cauſe, that rendered the public magazine belonging to the colony in the capital city of Williamſburgh, an object of his apprehenſion. However that was, he ſoon afterwards employed the Captain of an armed veſſel, which lay at a few miles diſtance in James River, with a detachment of marines, to convey the powder, by night, from the magazine on board his ſhip.

Conſequences thereof.

Though this meaſure was conducted with great privacy, it was by ſome means diſcovered the enſuing morning, when the apparent ſecrecy, and ſeeming myſteriouſneſs of the act, increaſed the conſternation and alarm among the inhabitants, who immediately aſſembled with ſuch arms as they had at hand, with an intention of demanding, or, perhaps, obtaining, reſtitution of the gun-powder. The Mayor and corporation, however, prevented their proceeding to any extremities, whilſt they preſented an addreſs to the Governor, ſtating the injury, reclaiming the powder as a matter of right, and ſhewing the dangers to which they were peculiarly liable from the inſurrection of their ſlaves; a calamity, which had for ſome time been particularly apprehended, and which the removal of their only means of defence, would at any time have accelerated.

His Lordſhip acknowledged, that the gun-powder had been removed by his order; ſaid, that as he had heard of an inſurrection in a neighbouring county, and did not think it ſecure in the magazine, he had it conveyed to a place of perfect ſecurity; but gave his word, that whenever an occaſion rendered it neceſſary, it ſhould be immediately returned. He alſo ſaid, that it had been removed in the night to prevent giving alarm; expreſſed great ſurprize at the people's aſſembling in arms; and obſerved that he could not think it prudent to put powder into their hands in ſuch a ſituation.

Whatever ſatisfaction this anſwer might have afforded to the magiſtrates, they prevailed on the people to retire quietly to their houſes, without any remarkable outrage, that we can learn, having been committed; indeed it appeared, from depoſitions afterwards taken by order of the aſſembly, that the officers of the men of war on that ſtation, and particularly the gentleman who might be ſuppoſed to have rendered himſelf obnoxious by removing the powder, appeared publicly in the ſtreets during the time of the greateſt commotion,

motion, without their receiving the ſmalleſt inſult. A report, being, however, ſpread in the evening, that detachments from the men of war were upon their march to the city, the people again took to their arms, and continued all night upon the watch, as if in expectation of an attack from an enemy. They alſo from this time increaſed their night patroles, and ſhewed an evident deſign to protect the magazine from any further attempts. 1775.

The whole value of the powder and arms in the magazine, or any purpoſe to which they were capable of being converted, either in the hands of friends or enemies, ſeemed very inadequate to the alarm, ſuſpicion, and diſturbance, which this meaſure excited. The quantity of powder removed amounted only to fifteen half barrels, containing fifty pounds each, of a very ordinary ſort, and the remaining ſtock left behind in the magazine, to about ſix of the ſame kind; neither does it appear that the number of ſerviceable muſkets was ſufficient to anſwer any eſſential purpoſe, or even to juſtify apprehenſion, and the caution of ſtripping theſe of their locks, only marked the ſuſpicion from which it proceeded. A conſiderable quantity of old arms, and common trading guns, were not meddled with. Upon the whole, this act derived its only importance, from time, manner, and circumſtance.

The Governor ſeems to have been exceedingly irritated at the behaviour of the people in theſe commotions, and perhaps reſented too highly, for ſuch times, their aſſembling in arms, not only without, but with an evident intention to oppoſe his authority. In this warmth of temper ſome threats were thrown out, which upon a cooler reflection would probably have been avoided. Among theſe, a threat of ſetting up the royal ſtandard, of enfranchizing the negroes, arming them againſt their maſters, and deſtroying the city, with other expreſſions of a ſimilar nature and tendency, not only ſpread a general alarm throughout the colony, but excited a kind of abhorrence of government, and an incurable ſuſpicion of its deſigns.

Aſſembly convened.

In the mean time, ſeveral public meetings were held in different counties, in all of which, the meaſure of ſeizing and removing the powder, as well as the Governor's threats, were reprobated in the ſtrongeſt terms. Some of the gentlemen of Hanover, and other of the neighbouring counties, were not, however, ſatisfied with ſimple declarations. They aſſembled in arms to a conſiderable number, under the conduct of a Mr. Henry, who was one of the Provincial De-

Armed force headed by a Mr Henry.

1775. legates to the General Congreſs, and marched towards Williamſburgh, with an avowed deſign, not only to obtain reſtitution of the gun-powder, but to take ſuch effectual meaſures for ſecuring the public treaſury, as ſhould prevent its experiencing a ſimilar fate with the magazine. A negociation was, however, entered into with the magiſtrates, when they had arrived within a few miles of the city, in which it was finally ſettled, that the Receiver-General of the colony's ſecurity, for paying the value of the gun-powder, ſhould be accepted as a reſtitution, and that upon the inhabitants engaging for the future, effectually to guard both the treaſury and magazine, the inſurgents ſhould return to their habitations.

The alarm of this affair, induced Lady Dunmore, with the Governor's family to retire on board the Fowey man of war in James River, whilſt his Lordſhip, with the aſſiſtance of a detachment of marines, converted his palace into a little garriſon, fortified it in the beſt manner he was able, and ſurrounded it with artillery. A proclamation from the Governor and Council, in which Henry and his followers were charged with rebellious practices, in extorting the value of the powder from the Receiver-General, and the preſent commotions were attributed to diſaffection in the people, and a deſire of changing the eſtabliſhed form of government, ſerved only to afford more room for altercation, and to increaſe the heat and diſcontent. Several county meetings were held, Henry's conduct vindicated and applauded, and reſolutions paſſed, that at the riſque of every thing dear, he and his followers ſhould be indemnified from all ſuffering, loſs and injury, upon that account. The charge of diſaffection was peremptorily denied, and thoſe of changing the form of government, and cauſing the preſent troubles, retorted. They inſiſted that they wanted nothing but to preſerve their ancient conſtitution, and only oppoſed innovations, and that all the diſturbances ſprung from the Governor's late conduct.

Governor's proclamation againſt Henry.

His conduct approved of by the people.

As there are times when all circumſtances ſeem to conſpire, towards the nouriſhment and increaſe of political, as well as natural diſorders, ſo it appeared now in Virginia, every thing tending to one common center of diſtruſt, jealouſy, and diſcontent. The copies of ſome letters from the Governor to the Miniſter of the American department, were by ſome means procured, and public and ſevere cenſures paſſed upon them, as containing not only unfavourable, but unfair and unjuſt repreſentations, as well of facts, as of the temper and diſpoſition of the colony. Thus one diſtruſt begot another, until

Appearance of certain letters increaſe the ferment.

until all confidence being totally loſt on both ſides, every falſe report that was circulated, was believed on either, and ſerved for its time to keep up the public fever. 1775.

In this ſtate of commotion and diſorder, upon the arrival of diſpatches from England, the General Aſſembly was ſuddenly and unexpectedly convened by the Governor. The grand motive for this meaſure, was to procure their approbation and acceptance of the terms, included in Lord North's *Conciliatory Motion*, § and the parliamentary reſolutions founded thereupon. His Lordſhip accordingly in his ſpeech, uſed his utmoſt addreſs to carry this favourite point; he ſtated the favourable diſpoſition of parliament, as well as of government, towards the colonies; the moderation, equity, and tenderneſs, which induced the preſent advances towards a happy reconciliation; he dwelt upon the juſtice of their contributing to the common defence, and bearing an equi-

June 1ſt. General Aſſembly convened by the Gov. and conciliatory motion propos'd.

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§ In laſt Feb. 1775, while all parties purſued their debates with much eagerneſs and animoſity, and nothing but defiance was hurled at America on the part of Government, Lord *North* at the head of adminiſtration amazed all parties, and ſeemed for a time almoſt to diſſolve his own, by that famous *conciliatory motion* with reſpect to America, which was then, and has been ſince, the ſubject of ſo much diſcuſſion on both ſides of the Atlantick. The motion was for paſſing the following reſolution.——"That "when the governor, council and aſſembly, or general court of "his Majeſty's provinces or colonies, in North America, ſhall "propoſe to make proviſion, according to their reſpective condi- "tions, circumſtances, and ſituations, for contributing their pro- "portion to the common defence, ſuch proportion to be raiſed "under the authority of the general court, or general aſſembly "of ſuch province or colony, and diſpoſable by parliament; and "ſhall engage to make proviſion alſo for the ſupport of the civil "government, and the adminiſtration of juſtice in ſuch province "and colony, it will be proper, if ſuch propoſal ſhould be ap- "proved of by his Majeſty in parliament, and for ſo long as ſuch "proviſion ſhall be made accordingly, to forbear, in reſpect of "ſuch province or colony, to levy any duties, tax, or aſſeſſment, "or to impoſe any further duty, tax, or aſſeſſment, except only "ſuch duties as it may be expedient to impoſe for the regulation "of government; the *nett* produce of the duties laſt mentioned, "to be carried to the account of ſuch province, colony, or planta- "tion reſpectively." This motion after undergoing many ſcrutinies and altercations in a very full houſe, paſſed, by a majority of 278 to 88. *L. North's conciliatory motion.*

table

1775. table proportion of the public burthens; obſerved, that as no ſpecific ſum was demanded, they had an opportunity of giving a free ſcope to their juſtice and liberality, and that whatever they gave, would be a free gift, in the fulleſt ſenſe of the terms; that they would thus ſhew their reverence for parliament, and manifeſt their duty and attachment to the Sovereign; and the kindneſs with which it would be taken, that they met, on their ſide, the favourable diſpoſition ſhewn on the other, towards bringing the preſent unhappy diſputes to a period. He alſo took pains to convince them, from the proceedings and reſolutions of parliament, that a full redreſs of all their real grievances, would be the immediate conſequence of their compliance.

Magazine rifled.

The firſt act of the aſſembly, was the appointment of a committee to enquire into the cauſes of the late diſturbances, and particularly to examine the ſtate of the magazine, that neceſſary meaſures might be accordingly taken for its repleniſhment. Though the magazine was the property of the colony, it was in the cuſtody of the Governor, who appointed a keeper, ſo that an application to him for admittance was neceſſary. During an altercation which aroſe upon this ſubject, and before the order for admittance was obtained, ſome people of the town and neighbourhood broke into the magazine, and carried off ſome of the arms; ſeveral members of the Houſe of Burgeſſes, however, uſed their perſonal intereſt and application in getting as many of them as they could returned. It appeared by the report of the Committee, that they found moſt of the remainder of the powder buried in the magazine yard, where it had been depoſited by the Governor's orders, and ſuffered conſiderable damage from the rain; the depriving the muſkets of their locks was alſo now diſcovered, as well as the nakedneſs and inſufficiency of the magazine in all reſpects. Among other matters which ſerved to irritate the people, was the planting of ſpring-guns in the magazine, (without giving any public notice of ſuch a mode of ſecurity) and ſome effect they had taken at the time of the late depredations.

June 8th. Lord *Dunmore* retires on board a ſhip of war.

Whilſt the Governor's ſpeech, with the propoſitions which it recommended, were yet under the conſideration of the aſſembly, and before their addreſs was determined upon, his Lordſhip, with his lady and family, quitted the palace privately, and ſuddenly, at night, and retired on board of the Fowey man of war, which then lay near York town, on the river of the ſame name. He left a meſſage for the Houſe of Burgeſſes, acquainting them, that he thought it prudent

to

to retire to a place of ſafety, as he was fully perſuaded, that both himſelf and his family were in conſtant danger of falling ſacrifices to the blind and unmeaſurable fury of the people; that ſo far from intending to interrupt their ſitting, he hoped they would ſucceſsfully proceed in the great buſineſs before them; that he would render the communication between him and the Houſe as eaſy and as ſafe as poſſible; and that he ſuppoſed it would be more agreeable to them to ſend ſome of their members to him as occaſion ſhould require, than to have the trouble of moving their whole body to a nearer place. He aſſured them, that he ſhould attend as uſual to the duties of his office, and of his good diſpoſition to reſtore that harmony which had been ſo unhappily interrupted. 1775.

Report from the Committee of Enquiry.

This meſſage produced a joint addreſs from the Council and Houſe of Burgeſſes; declaring their unbelief that any perſons in that province, would meditate ſo horrid and atrocious a crime as his Lordſhip apprehended; lamenting that he had not acquainted them with the ground of his uneaſineſs before he had adopted this meaſure, as they would have uſed all poſſible means to have removed every cauſe of his diſquietude; they feared that this removal from the ſeat of government would be a means of increaſing the uneaſineſs which unhappily prevailed among the people; declared that they would chearfully concur in any meaſure which he ſhould propoſe for the ſecurity of himſelf and his family; obſerving how impracticable it would be to carry on the buſineſs of the ſeſſion with any degree of propriety and diſpatch, whilſt he was at ſuch a diſtance, and ſo inconveniently ſituated. They concluded by intreating his return, with his lady and family, to the palace, which would afford great public ſatisfaction, and be the likelieſt means of quieting the minds of the people.

June 10. Refuſal of the Governor to go on ſhore to paſs the bills.

Lord Dunmore returned a written anſwer, in which he juſtified his apprehenſions of danger, from the public notoriety of the commotions among the people, as well as of the threats and menaces with which they were attended; beſides complaints of the general conduct and diſpoſition of the Houſe of Burgeſſes, he ſpecified ſeveral charges againſt that body; that they had countenanced the violent and diſorderly proceedings of the people, particularly with reſpect to the magazine, which was forced and rifled in the preſence of ſome of the members; that inſtead of the commitment of thoſe perſons who had been guilty of ſo daring and heinous an offence, they only endeavoured to procure a reſtitution of the arms. That the Houſe, or its Committee, had ventured

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1775. on a ſtep fraught with the moſt alarming conſequences, in appointing guards, without his approbation or conſent, under pretence of protecting the magazine, ſhewed thereby a deſign of uſurping the executive power, and of ſubverting the conſtitution.

He obſerved, that no means could be effectual for affording the ſecurity which they propoſed to concur in, but, by reinſtating him in the full powers of his office, by opening the courts of juſtice, and reſtoring the energy of the laws; by diſarming all independent companies, or other bodies of men, raiſed and acting in defiance of legal authority; by obliging the immediate return of the King's arms and ſtores; and by, what was not leſs eſſential than any other matter, their own example, and their endeavours to remove that general deluſion which kept the minds of the people in a continual ferment, and thereby to aboliſh that malice and ſpirit of perſecution, which now operated ſo dangerouſly againſt all thoſe, who from duty and affection to their King and country, oppoſed the preſent meaſures, and who from principle and conviction differed with the multitude in political opinion. That theſe were the means to afford the ſecurity requiſite for all parties; and that, for the accompliſhment of thoſe ends, together with the great object and neceſſary buſineſs of the ſeſſion, he ſhould have no objection to their adjourning to the town of York, where he would meet them, and remain till the buſineſs was finiſhed.

He concluded by repreſenting, that unleſs they had a ſincere and active deſire of ſeizing the opportunity which was now offered by parliament, of eſtabliſhing the freedom of their country upon a fixed and known foundation, and of uniting themſelves with their fellow-ſubjects of Great-Britain in one common bond of intereſt and mutual aſſiſtance, his return to Williamſburgh would be as fruitleſs to the people, as it might poſſibly be dangerous to himſelf; but that if their proceedings manifeſted that happy diſpoſition, he would return with the greateſt joy, and conſider it as the moſt fortunate event of his life, if they gave him an opportunity to be an inſtrument of promoting their happineſs, and of being a ſucceſsful mediator between them and the ſupreme authority.

The Aſſembly addreſs the Gov. on his refuſal.

The mollifying terms of the concluſion, were by no means equal to the removal of the acrimony excited by thoſe ſevere charges and implications, which were contained in the foregoing parts of this long meſſage. It accordingly produced a reply of an uncommon length, under the form of an addreſs, which

which was fraught with all the bitterneſs of recrimination, as well as with defenſive arguments, and an examination of facts. The Houſe had now received the report of its Committee relative to the cauſes of the late diſturbances, backed by the depoſitions of a number of Britiſh merchants, who were reſident in different and remote parts of the Colony, all whoſe teſtimony tended to ſhew the general tranquility which prevailed previous to the late affair of the powder, and the Governor's declaration relative to the ſlaves, the latter of which, ſo far as it was believed, having particularly irritated the people; that notwithſtanding, quiet and order were ſoon every where reſtored, and ſtill continued; that there was a general acquieſcence every where in the determinations of the General and Provincial Congreſs; but they all concurred in believing, that the people had no deſign or wiſh of an independency on Great-Britain; and ſome, that on the contrary, they had a moſt eager deſire for ſuch a connection, as it ſtood before the late acts of parliament; they were unanimous in their opinion, that a redreſs of the grievances complained of, would eſtabliſh a perfect tranquility, and produce a reconciliation with the parent ſtate. 1775.

To refute the charges or inſinuations of diſaffection and diſloyalty, the Houſe of Burgeſſes took a retroſpective view of the behaviour of the people, and of ſeveral tranſactions in the colony, for ſome years back; they ſtated the happineſs which they derived under the conduct of former Governors, as a ſtrong contraſt to the preſent ſituation; they attributed that happineſs, particularly in a very late inſtance, to the diſcountenancing of tale-bearers and malicious informers, to a proper examination of every ſubject, and the taking of nothing upon truſt; and, finally, to the tranſmitting home a faithful repreſentation of things in the colony. They ſtated their former conduct and behaviour with reſpect to his Lordſhip, and obſerved, that changes ſeldom happened without ſome difficult cauſe; that reſpect was not to be obtained by force from a free people; that nothing was ſo likely to inſure it, as dignity of character, a candid and exemplary conduct. That they did not mean to inſinuate his Lordſhip would, deſignedly, miſrepreſent facts; but that it was much to be feared, he too eaſily gave credit to deſigning perſons, who, to the great injury of the community, poſſeſſed much too large a ſhare of his confidence.

They controverted the facts, and examined, with great ſeverity, the repreſentations and charges contained in thoſe two letters to the Earl of Dartmouth, which we have already

1775. dy taken notice of; theſe they repreſented as exceedingly injurious and unjuſt, as founded on miſconception, miſinformation, the height of colouring, the miſtating, or the aſſumption of facts, without evidence. They then proceeded to juſtify the ſteps which had been taken with regard to the militia; their ſuppoſed countenance to the acts done concerning the magazine, and the other matters which firſt excited, and afterwards inflamed, the controverſy.

June 14. The Houſe of Burgeſſes alſo preſented their addreſs in anſwer to the Governor's ſpeech, in which they entered into a long diſcuſſion of the propoſition contained in the parliamentary reſolution, founded upon Lord North's conciliatory motion. This they combated upon the ſame grounds, and with a variety of arguments of the ſame nature, that we have formerly ſtated; and they ultimately declared, that as it only changed the form of oppreſſion, without leſſening its burthen, they could not cloſe with its terms. They obſerved, however, that theſe were only offered as the ſentiments of an individual part of the whole empire; and for a final determination, they referred the affair to the General Congreſs, before whom they would lay the papers. To them alſo they referred the diſcovery of that proper mode of repreſenting their well-founded grievances, which his Lordſhip aſſured them, would meet with the attention and regard ſo juſtly due to them. For themſelves, they made the following declaration: "We have exhauſted every mode of application which our invention could ſuggeſt, as proper and promiſing. We have decently remonſtrated with parliament; they have added new injuries to the old. We have wearied our King with ſupplications; he has not deigned to anſwer us. We have appealed to the native honour and juſtice of the Britiſh nation; their efforts in our favour have been hitherto ineffectual."

In this ſtate of diſtruſt and ill-humour on both ſides, every day afforded new ground for bickering, and every incident freſh room for altercation, ſo that there was a continued intercourſe, by addreſſes, meſſages, and anſwers, between the Houſe of Burgeſſes and the Fowey. This was a ſingular ſituation; an attempt to govern, without chooſing, or finding it ſafe, to ſet a foot on ſhore in the country to be governed.

Aſſembly will not attend him on board the Fowey. At length, the neceſſary bills having paſſed the aſſembly, and the advanced ſeaſon requiring their attendance in their ſeveral countries, the Council and Burgeſſes jointly intreated the Governor's preſence, to give his aſſent to them and finiſh the ſeſſion. They obſerved, that though the buſineſs ha

had been greatly impeded by his abſence from the ſeat of government, and they had ſubmitted to the inconvenience of repeatedly ſending their members twelve miles to attend his Excellency on board a ſhip of war, they could not but think it highly improper, and too great a departure from the conſtitutional and accuſtomed mode of tranſacting their buſineſs, to preſent the bills to him at any other place than the capital. 1775.

Lord Dunmore in his anſwer was ſomewhat rough. He inſiſted upon his right of calling them to any place in the colony, where the exigencies of affairs might render their attendance neceſſary. He further obſerved, that as he had not been made acquainted with the whole proceedings of the Aſſembly, he knew of no bills of importance, which, if he were inclined to riſque his perſon again among the people, they had to preſent to him, nor whether they were ſuch as he could aſſent to if they had.

To obviate theſe objections, though it was an unprecedented act, the Aſſembly ſent the bills, as well as other papers which were afterwards demanded, on board the Fowey, for his inſpection. The moſt intereſting of thoſe bills, ſeemingly to all parties, was that for the payment of the forces, who had lately, under his Lordſhip's command, ſuffered conſiderably, at the ſame time that they had done eſſential ſervice to their country, by their bravery and ſucceſs in the late Indian war. This bill was objected to by the Governor, for its impoſing a tax upon the importation of ſlaves, and for ſome informality in reſpect to the emiſſion of paper money. The other bills were approved of.

This produced the final addreſs from the Houſe of Burgeſſes, in which they intreated his Excellency, that he would meet them the enſuing day at Williamſburgh, to paſs the bills that were ready; expreſſed their hopes, that he could not ſtill entertain any groundleſs fears of perſonal danger; but declare, that if it was poſſible he remained under ſo ſtrange an influence, they pledged their honours, and every thing ſacred, for his ſecurity. If nothing could prevail, they requeſted that he would grant a commiſſion for paſſing ſuch bills as he approved.

Lord Dunmore perſiſted in the objections he had made to the bill; ſaid that the well-grounded cauſe he had for believing his perſon not ſafe at Williamſburgh, had increaſed daily. That he therefore could not meet them, as they requeſted, at the capital; but that he would be ready to receive the Houſe on the following Monday, at his preſent reſidence, for the purpoſe of giving his aſſent to ſuch acts as he ſhould approve of.

This

1775. This anſwer put an end to all public correſpondence and buſineſs between the Governor and colony. The transferring the Legiſlative Council and Houſe of Repreſentatives of a great county on board a man of war, was evidently not to be expected. Their danger in ſuch a ſituation, if on other accounts it were poſſible they could put themſelves into it, was no leſs than Lord Dunmore's could be on land. It may, however, be ſuppoſed, that the Governor's conduct was operated upon by cauſes, or influenced by motives, with which we are unacquainted.

Upon receiving the foregoing anſwer, the Burgeſſes paſſed reſolutions, in which they declared, that the meſſage requiring them to attend the Governor on board a ſhip of war, was a high breach of their rights and privileges. That the unreaſonable delays thrown into their proceedings, and the evaſive anſwers to their ſincere and decent addreſſes, gave them reaſon to fear that a dangerous attack was meditated againſt the unhappy people of that colony, and it was therefore their opinion, that they ſhould prepare for the preſervation of their property, and their ineſtimable rights and liberties. And then, ſtrongly profeſſing loyalty to the King, and amity to the mother country, they broke up their ſeſſion.

July 18th Convention of delegates held, and means uſed to arm the province.

Thus, unhappily, was an end put, for the preſent, to the Engliſh government in the colony of Virginia. A convention of delegates was ſoon appointed to ſupply the place of the aſſembly, who having an unlimited confidence repoſed in them by the people, become accordingly poſſeſſed of an unlimited power in all public affairs. Theſe immediately took in hand the raiſing and embodying of an armed force, as well as the providing means for its ſupport, and purſued every other meaſure which could tend to place the colony in a ſtrong ſtate of defence.

Declaration to juſtify theſe proceedings.

Whilſt they were purſuing theſe dangerous ſteps, they publiſhed a Declaration in juſtification of their conduct, tracing the meaſures that led to the preſent unhappy ſtate of public affairs, ſetting forth the cauſe of their meeting, and ſhewing the neceſſity of immediately putting the country in a poſture of defence, for the protection of their lives, liberties and properties. They concluded as the aſſembly had done with the ſtrongeſt profeſſions of faith and loyalty, and declared, that as, on the one hand, they were determined at the peril of the extremeſt hazards, to maintain their juſt rights and privileges, ſo on the other, it was their fixed and unalterable reſolution, to diſband ſuch forces as were raiſed for the defence of the colony, whenever their dangers were remo

removed, and America reſtored to its former ſtate of tranquility and happineſs. 1775.

Coercive meaſures alſo adopted by the Governor.

Whether Lord Dunmore expected that any extraordinary advantages might be derived from an inſurrection of the ſlaves, or that he imagined there was a much greater number of people in the colony, who were ſatisfied with the preſent ſyſtem of government, than really was the caſe, (a miſtake, and an unfortunate one, which like an epidemical diſtemper, ſeems to have ſpread through all our official departments in America) upon whatever grounds he proceeds, he determined, tho' he relinquiſhed his government, not to abandon his hopes, nor entirely to loſe ſight of the country which he had governed. He accordingly, being joined by thoſe friends of government, who had rendered themſelves too obnoxious to the people to continue with ſafety in the country, as well as by a number of runaway negroes, and ſupported by the frigates of war which were upon the ſtation, endeavoured to eſtabliſh ſuch a marine force, as would enable him, by means of the noble rivers, which render the moſt valuable parts of that rich country acceſſible by water, to be always at hand, and ready to profit, of any favourable occaſion that offered.

Upon this, or ſome ſimilar ſyſtem, he by degrees equipped and armed a number of veſſels of different kinds and ſizes, in one of which he conſtantly reſided, never ſetting his foot on ſhore but in a hoſtile manner; the force thus put together, was, however, calculated only for depredation, and never became equal to any eſſential ſervice. The former, indeed, was in part a matter of neceſſity, for as the people on ſhore would not ſupply thoſe on board with proviſions or neceſſaries, they muſt either ſtarve, or provide them by force. The Virginians pretend, that while the depredations were confined to thoſe neceſſary objects, the reſpect which they bore to the rank and office of their governor, prevented his meeting with any reſiſtance; but their nature was ſoon changed into open and avowed hoſtility. Obnoxious perſons, they ſaid, were ſeized and carried on board the ſhips; plantations ravaged and deſtroyed; the negroes carried off; houſes burnt, and at length lives loſt on both ſides. In one of theſe expeditions, his Lordſhip deſtroyed a number of iron cannon, and carried off ſome others, which he ſuppoſed were provided for the purpoſes of rebellion, though the Virginians aſſert they were ſhip guns. Theſe proceedings occaſioned the ſending of ſome detachments of the new-raiſed forces to protect the coaſts, and from thence enſued, a ſmall, miſchievous, predatory war, incapable of affording honour

or

1775. or benefit, and in which, at length, every drop of water, and every neceſſary, was purchaſed at the price or riſque of blood.

Oct. 25th Lord *Dunmore* repulſed in his attempt to deſtroy the town of *Hampton*.

During this ſtate of hoſtility, he procured a few ſoldiers from different parts, with whoſe aſſiſtance, an attempt was made to burn a port-town, in an important ſituation, called Hampton. It ſeems the inhabitants had ſome previous ſuſpicion of the deſign, for they had ſunk boats in the entrance of the harbour, and thrown ſuch other obſtacles in the way, as rendered the approach of the ſhips, and conſequently a landing, impracticable on the day in which the attack was commenced. The ſhips cut a paſſage through the boats in the night, and began to cannonade the town furiouſly in the morning; but at this critical period, they were relieved from their apprehenſions and danger, by the arrival of a detachment of rifle and minute men, from Williamſburgh, who had marched all night to their aſſiſtance. Theſe, joined with the inhabitants, attacked the ſhips ſo vigorouſly with their ſmall arms, that they were obliged precipitately to quit their ſtation, with the loſs of ſome men, and of a tender which was taken.

Nov. 7th Proclamation for martial law, and the emancipation of the negroes.

In conſequence of this repulſe, a proclamation was iſſued by the Governor, dated on board the ſhip William, off Norfolk, declaring, that as the civil law was at preſent inſufficient to prevent and puniſh treaſon and traitors, martial law ſhould take place, and be executed throughout the colony; and requiring all perſons capable of bearing arms to repair to his Majeſty's ſtandard, or to be conſidered as traitors. He alſo declared all indented ſervants, negroes, or others, appertaining to rebels, who were able and willing to bear arms, and who joined his Majeſty's forces, to be free.

This meaſure of emancipating the negroes, excited leſs ſurprize, and probably had leſs effect in exciting the deſired inſurrection, from its being ſo long threatened and apprehended, than if it had been more immediate and unexpected. It was, however, received with the greateſt horror in all the colonies, and has been ſeverely condemned elſewhere, as tending to looſen the bands of ſociety, to deſtroy domeſtic ſecurity, and encourage the moſt barbarous of mankind, to the commiſſion of the moſt horrible crimes, and the moſt inhuman cruelties; that it was confounding the innocent with the guilty, and expoſing thoſe who were the beſt friends to government, to the ſame loſs of property, danger, and deſtruction, with the moſt incorrigible rebels. It was ſaid to eſtabliſh a precedent of a moſt dangerous nature in the new world,

world, by giving a legal ſanction to the arraying and embo- 1775.
dying of African negroes, to appear in arms againſt white men, and to encounter them upon an equal footing in the field; for however founded diſtinctions with reſpect to colour may appear, when examined by the teſts of nature, reaſon, or philoſophy, while things continue in their preſent ſtate, while commerce, luxury, and avarice, render ſlavery a principal object in the political ſyſtem of every European power that poſſeſſes dominion in America, the idea of a pre-eminence muſt always be cheriſhed, and conſidered as a neceſſary policy. This meaſure is perhaps liable to be charged with another political fault, which has attended too many others that have been lately adopted with reſpect to America, viz. that of violent irritation, without affording any adequate benefit.

The Proclamation, however, with Lord Dunmore's preſence, and the encouragement of the ſmall marine force he had with him, produced, for the preſent, ſome effect in the town of Norfolk, and the adjoining country, where many of the people were well-affected to government. He was accordingly joined by ſome hundreds both of blacks and whites, and many others, who did not chuſe to take an active part, publicly abjured the Congreſs, with all its acts, and all conventions and committees, whatever. It is probable that Lord Dunmore now hoped, that the facility and good diſpoſition which he experienced here, would have been ſo general, as to enable him to raiſe a conſiderable armed force, and thus, perhaps, without any foreign aſſiſtance, to have the glory of reducing one part of the province by the means of the other.

This pleaſing hope was interrupted by intelligence, that a party of the rebels were marching towards them with great expedition. To obſtruct their deſigns, and protect the well-affected, he took poſſeſſion of a poſt called the Great-Bridge, which lay at ſome miles diſtance from Norfolk, and was a paſs of great conſequence, being the only way by which they could approach to that town. Here he conſtructed a fort on the Norfolk ſide of the bridge, which he furniſhed well with artillery, and rendered as defenſible as the time would admit. Notwithſtanding the loyalty of the people in this quarter, which included two ſmall counties, it does not appear that his force was at all conſiderable, either as to the number or quality; he had indeed 200 regulars, including the grenadiers of the 14th regiment, and a body called the Norfolk volunteers; the reſt was a motley mixture of blacks and whites. The enemy, under the command of a Colonel Woodford, fortified

Action near the Great Bridge.

1775. fortified themſelves alſo, within leſs than cannon ſhot of our people; they had a narrow cauſeway in their front, which muſt be paſſed to come at their works, ſo that both parties ſeemed pretty well ſecured from ſurprize.

In this ſtate they continued quiet on both ſides for ſome days, until at length a deſign was formed, for ſurprizing the enemy in their entrenchments. This was undertaken before daylight. Capt. Fordyce, at the head of his grenadiers, a-
Dec. 9th mounting to about 60, led the attack. They boldly paſſed the cauſeway, and marched up to the entrenchments with fixed bayonets, and with a coolneſs and intrepidity, which firſt excited the aſtoniſhment, and afterwards the praiſe of their enemies; for they were not only expoſed naked to the fire in front, but enfiladed by another part of the works. The brave Captain, with ſeveral of his men, fell; the Lieutenant, with others, were taken, and all the ſurvivors of the grenadier company, whether priſoners or not, were wounded.

The fire of the artillery from the fort, enabled our people to retire without purſuit, as well as to carry off many of their dead and wounded. It will excite no great ſurprize, that the ſlaves in this engagement, did more prejudice to our own people, than to the enemy. It has been ſaid, that we were led into this unfortunate affair, through the deſigned falſe intelligence of a pretended deſerter, who was tutored for the purpoſe: however that may be, it was grievous, that ſuch uncommon bravery ſhould be ſquandered to no purpoſe. Capt. Fordyce was interred with every military honour by the victors, who ſhewed due reſpect to his former merit, as well as the gallantry which ſignalized his laſt moments. The Engliſh priſoners were treated with great kindneſs; the Americans who had joined the king's ſtandard, with equal rigour. In this engagement we are ſaid to have had 129 killed, 175 wounded, and 40 of our men made priſoners.

His Lpt. again retires on board.

Lord Dunmore with the remainder of his forces retired from the poſt at the Great-Bridge the enſuing night, without any other loſs than a few pieces of cannon, and ſome trifling ſtores which they left behind; and as all hopes in this quarter were now at an end, he therefore thought it neceſſary to abandon the town and neighbourhood of Norfolk, and retired again with his people on board the ſhips, which were conſiderably increaſed in number, by thoſe which he found in that port. Many of the well-affected, or Tories, (which was the appellation now given to them throughout America) thought it prudent, with their families, to ſeek the ſame aſylum, whither

whither they alſo carried the moſt portable and valuable of their effects. Thus his Lordſhip formed a conſiderable fleet, with reſpect to the number of veſſels and tonnage, and theſe were alſo crouded with people; but the ſhips were without force, and contained mouths without hands fit to navigate them. The rebels took poſſeſſion of Norfolk, and the fleet moved to a greater diſtance. 1775.

During theſe tranſactions, a ſcheme had been in agitation, for raiſing a conſiderable force at the back of the colonies, particularly in Virginia and the Carolinas, where it was known there were many well-affected to the King's government; it was hoped that ſome of the Indian nations might be induced to become parties in this deſign; and that thus united, they not only would make ſuch a diverſion, as muſt greatly alarm and diſtreſs the rebels, but that they might penetrate ſo far towards the coaſts, as to form a junction with Lord Dunmore. One Connolly, a native of Penſylvania, an active enterprizing man, who ſeems to have been well calculated for ſuch an undertaking, was the framer of this deſign; and his project being approved of by Lord Dunmore, he with great difficulty and danger carried on a negociation with the Ohio Indians, and his friends among the back ſettlers, upon the ſubject. This having ſucceeded to his ſatisfaction, he returned to Lord Dunmore, who ſent him with the neceſſary credentials to Boſton, where he received a commiſſion from General Gage, to act as colonel commandant, with aſſurances of ſupport and aſſiſtance, at the time and in the manner appointed. It was intended, that the garriſon which we had at Detroit, and ſome other of the remote back forts, with their artillery and ammunition, ſhould be ſubſervient to this deſign, and the adventurer expected to draw ſome aſſiſtance, at leaſt, of volunteers and officers, from the neareſt parts of Canada. He was to grant all commiſſions to the officers, and to have the ſupreme direction in every thing of the new forces, and as ſoon as they were in ſufficient condition, he was to penetrate through Virginia in ſuch a manner, as to meet Lord Dunmore, at a given time in the month of April, in the vicinity of Alexandria, upon the river Potowmac, who was to bring ſuch a naval force, and other aſſiſtance, as was deemed neceſſary for the purpoſe. It was alſo a part, and not the leaſt comprehenſive of this plan, to cut off the communication between the northern and ſouthern colonies.

Scheme for raiſing the Indians and Back Settlers.

Connolly taken priſoner, and the ſcheme fruſtrat'd

Thus far, affairs ſeemed to look well with our adventurer; but on his road through Maryland to the ſcene of action, and when he was ſo far advanced that the worſt ſeemed near-

1775. ly over, the vigilance, or ſuſpicious temper of one of the committees, unfortunately fruſtrated all his hopes. Being taken up on ſuſpicion, with two of his aſſociates who travelled along with him, his papers betrayed every thing; among theſe was the general ſcheme of the deſign, a letter from L. Dunmore to one of the Indian chiefs, with ſuch other authentic vouchers, as left nothing to be doubted. The papers were publiſhed by the Congreſs, and the undertakers ſent to priſon.

As it does not appear that the loyaliſts were very lenient to thoſe who differed with them in political opinions, during the ſhort time of their ſuperiority in the country adjoining to Norfolk, ſo now, upon the turn of affairs, the obtaining a plauſible ſhew of juſtice, under the colour of retaliation, afforded ſuch a favourable opportunity for the practice of ſeverity, and the gratification of private pique, and natural malignity, on the other ſide, as is never known to be neglected by any party in ſimilar circumſtances. For though many had taken ſhelter on board the ſhips, a much greater number remained behind, ſome being willing to hazard ſome danger, rather than abandon their property; others hoping that their conduct, from its moderation, would bear enquiry; and the majority, from their having no proſpect of ſubſiſtence if they quitted home, and an expectation that their obſcurity would ſave them from notice. To conclude, ſuch charges of oppreſſion, injuſtice, and cruelty, were made on both ſides, as are uſually done in ſuch caſes.

L. Dunmore reduces to aſhes the town of Norfolk.

In the mean time, the people in the fleet were diſtreſſed for proviſions and neceſſaries of every ſort, and were cut off from every kind of ſuccour from the ſhore. This occaſioned conſtant bickering between the armed ſhips and boats, and the forces that were ſtationed on the coaſt, particularly at Norfolk. At length, upon the arrival of the Liverpool man of war from England, a flag was ſent on ſhore, to put the queſtion, whether they would ſupply his Majeſty's ſhips with proviſions, which being anſwered in the negative, and the ſhips in the harbour being continually annoyed by the fire of the rebels, from that part of the town which lay next the water, it was determined to diſlodge them by deſtroying it. Previous notice being accordingly given to the inhabitants, that they might remove from the danger, the firſt day of the new year was ſignalized by the attack, when a violent cannonade, from the Liverpool frigate, two ſloops of war, and the Governor's armed ſhip the Dunmore, ſeconded by parties of the ſailors and marines, who landed and ſet fire to

to the neareſt houſes, ſoon produced the deſired effect, and the whole town was reduced to aſhes. 1775.

It appears from a gazette publiſhed in the Governor's ſhip, (who had removed the printing preſs and materials thither from Norfolk) that it was only intended to deſtroy that part of the town which was next the water; but that the rebels compleated the deſtruction, by ſetting fire to the back and remote ſtreets, which, as the wind was in their favour, would have otherwiſe been ſafe from the fury of the flames. It is not, however, eaſy to preſcribe limits to the progreſs of a fire in ſuch, or indeed in any circumſtances. A few of thoſe who landed, as well as of the rebels, were killed and wounded.

Such was the fate of the unfortunate town of Norfolk, the moſt conſiderable for commerce in the colony, and ſo growing and flouriſhing before theſe unhappy troubles, that in the two years from 1773 to 1775, the rents of the houſes increaſed from 8,000 to 10,000 pounds a year. The whole loſs is eſtimated at above 300,000l. However juſt the cauſe, or urgent the neceſſity, which induced this meaſure, it was undoubtedly a grievous and odious taſk to a governor, to be himſelf a principal actor, in burning and deſtroying the beſt town in his government. The rebels, after this tranſaction, to cut off every reſource from the ſhips, and partly perhaps to puniſh the well-affected, burnt and deſtroyed the houſes and plantations within reach of the water, and obliged the people to remove, with their cattle, proviſions, and portable effects, farther into the country.

Nor was the ſituation of other governors in America, much more eligible than that of Lord Dunmore. In South-Carolina, Lord William Campbell, having, as they ſaid, entered into a negociation with the Indians, for coming in to the ſupport of government in that province, and having alſo ſucceeded in exciting a number of thoſe back ſettlers, who we have heretofore ſeen diſtinguiſhed in the Carolinas, under the title of Regulators, to eſpouſe the ſame cauſe, the diſcovery of theſe meaſures, before they were ſufficiently ripe for execution, occaſioned ſuch a ferment among the people, that he thought it neceſſary to retire from Charles-Town on board a ſhip of war in the river, from whence he returned no more to the ſeat of his government. In the mean time a Mr. Drayton, who was judge of the ſuperior court, and one of the moſt leading men in the colony, marched with a ſtrong armed force to the back ſettlements, where a treaty was concluded between him and the leaders of the Regula- Tranſactions in S. Carolina.

1775. tors; in which the differences between them were attributed to misinformation, a misunderstanding of each others views and designs, and a tenderness of conscience on the side of the latter, which prevented their signing the association, or pursuing any measures against government; but as they now engaged, neither by word or act to impede or contravene such proceedings as should be adopted and pursued by the province in general, nor to give any information, aid, or assistance, to such British troops as should at any time arrive in it, so they were to be entirely free in their conduct otherwise, to enjoy a safe neutrality, and to suffer no molestation, for their not taking an active part in the present troubles.

The government of the province was lodged in a council of safety consisting of 13 persons, with the occasional assistance of a committee of ninety-nine. As they had intelligence that an armament was preparing in England, which was particularly intended against it, no means were left untried for its defence, in disciplining the forces, procuring arms and gun-powder, and particularly in fortifying and securing Charles-Town.

Transactions in N. Carolina.

Similar measures were pursued in North-Carolina, (with the difference that Governor Martin was more active and vigorous in his proceedings) but was attended with as little success. The Provincial Congress, Committee, and Governor were in a continued state of the most violent warfare. Upon a number of charges, particularly of fomenting a civil war, and exciting an insurrection among the negroes, he was declared an enemy to America in general, and to that colony in particular, and all persons forbidden from holding any communication with him. These declarations he answered with a proclamation of uncommon length, which the Provincial Congress resolved to be a false, scandalous, scurrilous, malicious, and seditious libel, and ordered to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman.

As the Governor expected by means of the back settlers, as well as of the Scotch inhabitants and highland emigrants, who were numerous in the province, to be able to raise a considerable force, he took pains to fortify and arm his palace at Newbern, that it might answer the double purpose of a garrison and magazine. Before this could be effected, the moving of some cannon excited such a commotion among the people, that he found it necessary to abandon the palace, and retire on board a sloop of war in Cape Fear river. The people upon this occasion, discovered powder, shot, ball, and various military stores and implements, which had been buried

buried in the palace garden and yard; this ſerved to inflame them exceedingly, every man conſidering it as if it had been a plot againſt himſelf in particular. 1775.

In other reſpects, the province had followed the example of their neighbours in South-Carolina, by eſtabliſhing a council and committees of ſafety, with other ſubſtitutes for a regular and permanent government. They alſo purſued the ſame methods of providing for defence, of raiſing, arming and ſupporting forces, and of training the militia, and ſhewed equal vigour and eagerneſs in all their proceedings. The Provincial Congreſs publiſhed an addreſs to the inhabitants of the Britiſh empire, of the ſame nature with thoſe we have formerly ſeen to the people of Great-Britain and Ireland, containing the ſame profeſſions of loyalty and affection, and declaring the ſame earneſt deſire of a reconciliation.

General Gage having returned in the beginning of October, to England, the command in chief of the army at Boſton, devolved upon General Howe, who ſoon after iſſued a proclamation, by which, ſuch of the inhabitants as attempted to quit the town without licence, were condemned to military execution, if detected and taken, and if they eſcaped, to be proceeded againſt as traitors, by the forfeiture of their effects. By another, ſuch as obtained permiſſion to quit the town, were reſtrained by ſevere penalties, from carrying more than a ſmall ſpecified ſum of money with them. He alſo enjoined the ſigning and entering into an aſſociation, by which the remaining inhabitants offered their perſons for the defence of the town, and ſuch of them as he approved of, were to be armed, formed into companies, and inſtructed in military exerciſes and diſcipline, the remainder being obliged to pay their quotas in money, towards the common defence.

General Gage returns to England, —is ſucceeded in command by G. *Howe*.

As the limited term, for which the ſoldiers in the army before Boſton had enliſted, was nearly expired, a committee from the General Congreſs, conſiſting of ſeveral of its moſt reſpectable members, were ſent theither, to take the neceſſary meaſures, in conjunction with General Waſhington, for keeping it from diſbanding. This, however, does not ſeem to have been a work of any great difficulty, the whole army having re-enliſted for a year certain to come. Of all the difficulties which the Americans met, in their attempts towards the eſtabliſhment of a military force, nothing affected them ſo grievouſly, or was found ſo hard to be remedied, as the want of gunpowder. For tho' they uſed the utmoſt diligence in

Continental army before Boſton enliſt for a new term.

1775. in the collecting and preparing of nitre, and in all the other parts of the manufacture; the reſource from their induſtry muſt neceſſarily be ſlow, and with regard to any conſiderable effect diſtant. Nor had they yet opened that commerce, nor entered into thoſe meaſures with foreign ſtates, which have ſince procured them a ſupply of military articles. Indeed the ſcarcity of powder was ſo great, that it is ſaid the troops at Bunker's Hill, had not a ſingle charge left at the end of that ſhort engagement: and it is alſo ſaid, that the weakneſs of the army before Boſton in that reſpect, was at one time ſo great, that nothing but our ignorance of the circumſtance, could have ſaved them from being diſperſed and ruined. They, however, left nothing undone to ſupply this defect, and among many temporary expedients, had contrived to purchaſe, without notice or ſuſpicion, all the powder on the coaſt of Africa, and plundered the magazine in the iſland of Bermuda, of above 100 barrels, which was carried off (as it was pretended) without the knowledge of the inhabitants.

Oct. 18th *Falmouth* cannonaded, & nearly deſtroy'd.

In the courſe of the depredation, threat, and hoſtility, which continually occurred on the ſea coaſts, the town of Falmouth, in the northern part of the province of Maſſachuſett's Bay, was doomed to experience a ſhare of thoſe calamities, which were afterwards diſpenſed in a greater degree to Norfolk in Virginia, (already taken notice of in the tranſactions of that colony). Some particular violence or miſbehaviour, relative to the loading of a maſt ſhip, drew the indignation of the Admiral upon this place, and occaſioned an order for its deſtruction. The officer who commanded the ſhips upon this occaſion, gave two hours previous notice to the inhabitants to provide for their ſafety, and this time was further enlarged till the next morning, under the cover of a negociation for delivering up their artillery and ſmall arms, at the price of ſaving the town. This, however, they at length refuſed to comply with; but had made uſe of the intermediate time in removing ſo many of their effects as they could procure carriages for, or as the darkneſs and confuſion of the night would admit of.

About 9 o'clock in the morning, a cannonade was begun, and continued with little intermiſſion through the day. Above 3000 ſhot, beſides bombs and carcaſſes, were thrown into the town, and the ſailors landed to compleat the deſtruction, but were repulſed with the loſs of a few men. The principal part of the town, (which lay next the water) conſiſting of about 134 dwelling houſes, 278 ſtore and ware-

houſes,

houſes, with a large new church, a new handſome court-houſe, the old town-houſe, with the public library, were reduced to aſhes; about 100 of the worſt houſes, being favoured by the ſituation and diſtance, eſcaped deſtruction, though not without damage. Though the ſettlements in this quarter were new, being moſtly eſtabliſhed ſince the laſt war, this ſmall town was amazingly thriving, being ſituate on a fine harbour, and having a very conſiderable trade, ſo that it was computed to contain about 600 families, though little more than one-third of that number of dwelling-houſes. 1775.

The deſtruction which fell upon Falmouth, probably accelerated in the Aſſembly of Maſſachuſett's Bay, the daring meaſure (under the pretence of protecting their coaſts) of paſſing an act,—*for granting letters of marque and repriſal, and the eſtabliſhment of courts of admiralty, for the trial and condemnation of Britiſh ſhips.*—In this law they declared an intention, of only defending the coaſts and navigation of America, extending the power of capture only to ſuch ſhips as ſhould be employed in bringing ſupplies to the armies employed againſt them. Nov. 13. A Law made for granting letters of marque and repriſal.

In the courſe of the ſummer, Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union, between the ſeveral colonies which were already aſſociated, with liberty of admiſſion to thoſe of Quebec, St. John's, Nova-Scotia, the two Floridas, and Bermudas, containing rules for their general government in peace and war, both with reſpect to foreigners and each other, were drawn up by the General Congreſs, and by them tranſmitted to the different colonies, for the inſpection and conſideration of their reſpective aſſemblies.* As theſe Articles of Confederation, &c. were the only out-lines by which the general movements and operations of the different colonies in future were regulated, and as they may ſerve in a great meaſure to ſhew the general ſenſe and ſpirit of theſe times, we ſhall be excuſed in giving them *verbatim* to the reader. Articles of confederation propoſed by the *Continental Congreſs.*

The

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* *Articles of Confederation and perpetual Union entered into by the Delegates of the ſeveral Colonies of* New-Hampſhire, Maſſachuſett's-Bay, &c. &c. &c. &c. &c. &c. &c. &c. &c. &c. *in General Congreſs, met at* Philadelphia, *May* 20th, 1775.

ARTICLE I.

THE name of the Confederacy ſhall henceforth be, *The United Colonies of North-America.*

II. The

1775. The people, however, were not yet ſufficiently irritated, nor their affections and prejudices ſufficiently broken, to accede to a Confederacy, which though conditionally framed and worded, yet led to a total ſeparation from the mother country. For tho' they took up arms and oppoſed government, ſtill, it was in general, under the hope of obtaining thereby

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II. The *United Colonies* hereby ſeverally enter into a firm league of friendſhip with each other, binding on themſelves and their poſterity, for their common defence againſt their enemies, for the ſecurity of their liberties and properties, the ſafety of their perſons and families, and their mutual and general welfare.

III. That each colony ſhall enjoy and retain as much as it may think fit of its own preſent laws, cuſtoms, rights, privileges and peculiar juriſdictions, within its own limits; and may amend its own conſtitution, as ſhall ſeem beſt to its own aſſembly or convention.

IV. That for the more convenient management of general intereſts, delegates ſhall be elected annually, in each colony, to meet in General Congreſs, at ſuch time and place as ſhall be agreed on in the next preceding Congreſs. Only where particular circumſtances do not make a deviation neceſſary, it is underſtood to be a rule, that each ſucceeding Congreſs is to be held in a different colony, till the whole number be gone through, and ſo in perpetual rotation; and that accordingly, the next Congreſs after the preſent ſhall be held at Annapolis, in Maryland.

V. That the power and duty of the Congreſs ſhall extend to the determining on war and peace, the entering into alliances, the reconciliation with Great-Britain, the ſettling all diſputes between colony and colony, if any ſhould ariſe, and the planting new colonies where proper. The Congreſs ſhall alſo make ſuch general ordinances thought neceſſary to the general welfare, of which particular aſſemblies cannot be competent, *viz.* thoſe that may relate to our general commerce or general currency, to the eſtabliſhment of poſts, the regulation of our common forces; the Congreſs ſhall alſo have the appointment of all officers civil and military, appertaining to the general confederacy, ſuch as general treaſurer, ſecretary, &c. &c.

VI. All charges of war, and all other general expences to be incurred for the common welfare, ſhall be defrayed out of a common treaſury, which is to be ſupplied by each colony, in proportion to its number of male polls between 16 and 60 years of age; the taxes for paying that proportion are to be laid and levied by the laws of each colony.

VII. The number of delegates to be elected, and ſent to the Congreſs by each colony, ſhall be regulated, from time to time, by

thereby a redreſs of grievances; and that being the nearer and more agreeable object, they would not willingly look to any thing further, eſpecially to one ſo dreadful as a total ſeparation. It required a longer time in the contemplation of real 1775.

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by the number of ſuch polls returned; ſo as that one delegate be allowed for every 5000 polls. And the delegates are to bring with them to every Congreſs an authenticated return of the number of polls in the reſpective colonies, which is to be taken for the purpoſes above-mentioned.

VIII. At every meeting of the Congreſs, one half of the members returned, excluſive of proxies, ſhall be neceſſary to make a *quorum*; and each delegate at the Congreſs ſhall have a vote in all caſes; and if neceſſarily abſent, ſhall be allowed to appoint any other delegate from the ſame colony to be his proxy, who may vote for him.

IX. An executive council ſhall be appointed by the Congreſs out of their own body, conſiſting of 12 perſons, of whom in the firſt appointment, one-third, *viz.* four ſhall be for 1 year, four for 2 years, and four for three years; as the ſaid terms expire, the vacancies ſhall be filled up by appointments for three years, whereby one-third of the members will be choſen annually; and each perſon who has ſerved the ſame term of three years as counſellor, ſhall have a reſpite of three years, before he can be elected again. This Council, of whom two-thirds ſhall be a *quorum*, in the receſs of the Congreſs, is to execute what ſhall have been enjoined thereby; to manage the General Continental buſineſs and intereſts; to receive applications from foreign countries; to prepare matters for the conſideration of the Congreſs, to fill up, *pro tempore*, continental offices, that fall vacant; and to draw on the general treaſurer for ſuch monies as may be neceſſary for general ſervices, and appropriated by the Congreſs to ſuch ſervices.

X. No colony ſhall engage in any offenſive war with any nation of Indians, without the conſent of the Congreſs or great council abovementioned, who are firſt to conſider the juſtice and neceſſity of ſuch war.

XI. A perpetual alliance, offenſive and defenſive, is to be entered into, as ſoon as may be, with the Six Nations; their limits aſcertained, and to be ſecured to them; their lands not to be encroached on, nor any private or colony purchaſe to be made of them hereafter to be held good, nor any contract for lands to be made, but between the great council of the Indians at Onondega and the General Congreſs. The boundaries and lands of all the other Indians ſhall alſo be aſcertained and ſecured to them in the ſame manner; and perſons appointed to reſide among them in proper diſtricts, who ſhall take care to prevent injuſtice in the trade

1775. real or ſuppoſed injuries, and in ſpeculations upon future, together with freſh and conſtant ſources of irritation, to arrive at that habit of vexation and hatred, which was neceſſary to break ties of ſo long a ſtanding, and to familiarize ſo new an idea.

Commercial reſolution, ſuſpending in certain caſes the prohibition with reſpect to exportation and importation.

A reſolution was alſo paſſed by the Congreſs at the appearance of autumn, that as America was bleſſed with a moſt plentiful harveſt, and ſhould have a great ſuperfluity to ſpare for other nations, ſo if the late reſtraining laws were not repealed, within ſix months from the 20th of July, on which they commenced, the cuſtom-houſes ſhould be every where ſhut up, and their ports from thenceforth be open to every ſtate in Europe, (which would admit and protect their

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trade with them; and be enabled at our general expence, by occaſional ſmall ſupplies, to relieve their perſonal wants and diſtreſſes; and all purchaſes from them ſhall be by the Congreſs, for the general advantage and benefit of the United Colonies.

XII. As all new inſtitutions may have imperfections, which only time and experience can diſcover, it is agreed that the General Congreſs, from time to time, ſhall propoſe ſuch amendments of this conſtitution as may be found neceſſary, which being approved by a majority of the aſſemblies, ſhall be equally binding with the reſt of the articles of this Confederation.

XIII. Any and every colony from Great-Britain upon the continent of North-America, not at preſent engaged in any aſſociation, may, upon application, and joining the ſaid aſſociation, be received into the confederation, *viz.* Quebec, St. John's, Nova-Scotia, Bermudas, and the Eaſt and Weſt Floridas, and ſhall thereupon be entitled to all the advantages of our union, mutual aſſiſtance, and commerce.

Theſe articles ſhall be propoſed to the ſeveral provincial conventions or aſſemblies, to be by them conſidered; and, if approved, they are adviſed to empower their delegates to agree and ratify the ſame in the enſuing Congreſs; after which the union thereby eſtabliſhed is to continue firm, till the terms of reconciliation propoſed in the petition of the laſt Congreſs to the King are agreed to; till the acts, ſince made, reſtraining the American commerce and fiſheries, are repealed; till reparation is made for the injury done to Boſton by ſhutting up its port; for burning Charles-town; and for the expence of this unjuſt war; and till all the Britiſh troops are withdrawn from America. On the arrival of theſe events, the colonies are to return to their former connections and friendſhip with Great Britain; but on failure thereof this Confederation is to be perpetual.

commerce)

commerce) free of all duties, and for every kind of commodity, excepting, only, teas, and the merchandize of Great-Britain, and her dependencies. And the more to encourage foreigners to engage in trade with them, they paſſed a reſolution, that they would, to the utmoſt of their power, maintain and ſupport ſuch freedom of commerce for two years certain after its commencement, notwithſtanding any reconciliation with Great-Britain, and as much longer as the preſent obnoxious laws ſhould continue.——They alſo, immediately, ſuſpended the *non-importation* agreement, in favour of all ſhips that ſhould bring gunpowder, nitre, ſulphur, good muſkets fitted with bayonets, or braſs field pieces, ſuch ſhips being to be loaded in return with the value of their cargoes. At this ſitting of the General Congreſs, they likewiſe ſent out a ſecond petition* to the King, which was delivered to Lord Dartmoth, by Governor Penn, and to which his Lordſhip ſaid,—"*No anſwer would be given.*" As it may perhaps

1775.

Petition to the KING. Sep. 4th.

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* *To the* KING's *moſt Excellent Majeſty.*

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

WE your Majeſty's faithful ſubjects of the colonies of *New Hampſhire*, *Maſſachuſett's-Bay*, *Rhode-Iſland*, and *Providence Plantations*, *Connecticut*, *New York*, *New-Jerſey*, *Pennſylvania*, the counties of *New-Caſtle*, *Kent* and *Suſſex* in *Delaware*, *Maryland*, *Virginia*, *North* and *South Carolina*, in behalf of ourſelves and the inhabitants of theſe colonies, who have deputed us to repreſent them in General Congreſs, entreat your Majeſty's gracious attention to this our humble petition.

The union between our mother-country and theſe colonies, and the energy of mild and juſt government, produced benefits ſo remarkably important, and afforded ſuch aſſurance of their permanency and increaſe, that the wonder and envy of other nations were excited, while they beheld Great-Britain riſing to a power the moſt extraordinary the world had ever known. Her rivals obſerving that there was no probability of this happy connection being broken by civil diſſentions, and apprehending its future effects, if left any longer undiſturbed, reſolved to prevent her receiving ſo continual and formidable an acceſſion of wealth and ſtrength, by checking the growth of theſe ſettlements, from which they were to be derived.

In the proſecution of this attempt, events ſo unfavourable to the deſign took place, that every friend to the intereſt of Great-Britain and theſe colonies, entertained pleaſing and reaſonable expec-

1775. perhaps hereafter be a matter of doubt, when the war and its conſequences are much better remembered, than the circumſtances

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expectations of ſeeing an additional force and extenſion immediately given to the operations of the union hitherto experienced, by an enlargement of the crown, and the removal of ancient and warlike enemies to a greater diſtance.

At the concluſion, therefore, of the late war, the moſt glorious and advantageous that ever had been carried on by Britiſh arms, your loyal colonies, having contributed to its ſucceſs by ſuch repeated and ſtrenuous exertions as frequently procured them the diſtinguiſhed approbation of your Majeſty, of the late king, and of parliament, doubted not but that they ſhould be permitted, with the reſt of the empire, to ſhare in the bleſſings of peace, and the emoluments of victory and conqueſt. While theſe recent and honourable acknowledgments of their merits remained on record in the journals and acts of that auguſt legiſlature, the parliament, undefaced by the imputation, or even the ſuſpicion of any offence, they were alarmed by a *new ſyſtem of ſtatutes* and regulations, adopted for the adminiſtration of the colonies, that filled their minds with the moſt painful fears and jealouſies; and, to their inexpreſſible aſtoniſhment, perceived the dangers of a foreign quarrel quickly ſucceeded by domeſtic dangers, in their judgment of a more dreadful kind.

Nor were their anxieties alleviated by any tendency in this ſyſtem to promote the welfare of the mother-country: for though its effects were more immediately felt by them, yet its influence appeared to be injurious to the commerce and proſperity of Great-Britain

We ſhall decline the ungrateful taſk of deſcribing the irkſome variety of artifices practiſed by many of your Majeſty's miniſters, the deluſive pretences, fruitleſs terrors, and unavailing ſeverities, which have from time to time been dealt out by them in their attempts to execute this impolitic plan, or of tracing through a ſeries of years paſt the progreſs of the unhappy differences between Great-Britain and theſe colonies, which have flowed from this fatal ſource. Your Majeſty's miniſters perſevering in their meaſures, and proceeding to open hoſtilities for enforcing them, have compelled us to arm in our own defence, and have engaged us in a controverſy ſo peculiarly abhorrent from the affections of your ſtill faithful coloniſts, that when we conſider whom we muſt oppoſe in this conteſt, and if it continues, what may be the conſequence; our own particular misfortunes are accounted by us only as parts of our diſtreſs.

Knowing to what violent reſentments and incurable animoſities civil diſcords are apt to exaſperate and inflame the contending parties, we think ourſelves required by indiſpenſable obligations to Almighty

ſtances that preceded, or the cauſes that led to it, whether it was poſſible that ſuch ſentiments could really prevail with either 1775.

Almighty God, to your Majeſty, to our fellow-ſubjects, and ourſelves, immediately to uſe all the means in our power, not incompatible with our ſafety, for ſtopping the further effuſion of blood, and for averting the impending calamities that threaten the Britiſh empire. Thus called upon to addreſs your Majeſty on affairs of ſuch moment to America, and probably to all your dominions, we are earneſtly deſirous of performing this office with the utmoſt deference to your Majeſty; and we therefore pray that your royal magnanimity and benevolence may make the moſt favourable conſtructions of our expreſſions on ſo uncommon an occaſion.

Could we repreſent, in their full force, the ſentiments which agitate the minds of us, your dutiful ſubjects, we are perſuaded your Majeſty would aſcribe any ſeeming deviation from reverence, in our language, and even in our conduct, not to any reprehenſible intention, but to the impoſſibility of reconciling the uſual appearances of reſpect with a juſt attention to our preſervation againſt thoſe artful and cruel enemies, who abuſe your royal confidence and authority for the purpoſe of effecting our deſtruction.

Attached to your Majeſty's perſon, family and government, with all the devotion that principle and affection can inſpire, connected with Great-Britain by the ſtrongeſt ties that can unite ſocieties, and deploring every event that tends in any degree to weaken them, we ſolemnly aſſure your Majeſty that we not only moſt *ardently deſire the former harmony between her* and theſe colonies may be reſtored, but that a *concord may be eſtabliſhed* between them upon ſo firm a baſis as to perpetuate its bleſſings uninterrupted by any future diſſentions to ſucceeding generations in both countries; to tranſmit your Majeſty's name to poſterity, adorned with that ſignal and laſting glory that has attended the memory of thoſe illuſtrious perſonages, whoſe virtues and abilities have extricated ſtates from dangerous convulſions, and by ſecuring happineſs to others, have erected the moſt noble and durable monuments to their own fame.

We beg leave further to aſſure your Majeſty, that notwithſtanding the ſufferings of your loyal coloniſts, during the courſe of the preſent controverſy, our breaſts retain too tender a regard for the kingdom from which we derive our origin, to requeſt ſuch a reconciliation, as might in any manner be inconſiſtent with *her dignity or welfare*. Theſe, related as we are to her, honour and duty, as well as inclination, induce us to ſupport and advance; and the apprehenſions that now oppreſs our hearts with unſpeakable grief being once removed, your Majeſty will find your faithful ſubjects, on this continent, ready and willing, at all times, as they

1775. either of the parties, at the time ſo unnatural, and ſo unhappy a conteſt took place between them; and as the particular drift of this Petition, (diſtinct from its great and general object of a reſtoration of harmony and peace,) will, we apprehend, be more fully underſtood by their own ſentiments and dreſs of language, than any comment of ours thereon, we have therefore in the notes given it in full, in their own cloathing, with all the ſignatures annexed thereto; being perſuaded, that whatever were the inward intentions of the parties, the language was conciliatory, and the requeſt not immoderate. The Americans are ſaid to have laid great ſtreſs upon the ſucceſs of this final application to the Throne, (which they termed their *Olive Branch)* and are ſaid to have relaxed their operations conſiderably upon that idea, until they heard the event.

Dec. 6th. Declaration in anſ. to the Royal proclamation of the 3d Aug.

Towards the cloſe of the year, the General Congreſs publiſhed a declaration in anſwer to the royal proclamation for ſuppreſſing rebellion and ſedition, which was iſſued at St. James's on the 23d of Auguſt. In this piece they combated and

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they have ever been, with their lives and fortunes, to aſſert and maintain the rights and intereſts of your Majeſty and of our mother-country.

We therefore beſeech your Majeſty, that your royal authority and influence may be graciouſly interpoſed, to procure us relief from our afflicting fears and jealouſies, occaſioned by the ſyſtem before mentioned, and to ſettle peace through every part of your dominions; with all humility ſubmitting to your Majeſty's wiſe conſideration, whether it may not be expedient, for facilitating theſe important purpoſes, that your Majeſty be pleaſed to *direct ſome mode* by which the united applications of your faithful coloniſts to the throne, in purſuance of their common councils, may be improved into a happy and permanent reconciliation; and that in the mean time meaſures be taken for preventing the further deſtruction of the lives of your Majeſty's ſubjects, and that ſuch ſtatutes as more immediately diſtreſs any of your Majeſty's colonies be repealed. For by ſuch arrangements, as your Majeſty's wiſdom can form, for collecting the united ſenſe of your American people, we are convinced your Majeſty would receive ſuch ſatisfactory proofs of the diſpoſition of the coloniſts towards their Sovereign and the parent ſtate, that the wiſhed-for opportunity would ſoon be reſtored to them, of evincing the ſincerity of their profeſſions, by every teſtimony of devotion becoming the moſt dutiful ſubjects, and the moſt affectionate coloniſts.

That

and denied the charges of forgetting their allegiance, of treaſon, and rebellion, and took particular notice of the dangerous tendency, and indiſcriminate nature of a clauſe, prohibiting under the ſevereſt penalties, the carrying on of any correſpondence from England, with any perſons in rebellion, or the aiding or abetting of ſuch. But not content with critical obſervations, they conclude with a declaration in the name of the people of the United Colonies, That whatever puniſhment ſhall be inflicted upon any perſons in the power of their enemies, for favouring, aiding, or abetting, the cauſe of American liberty, ſhould be retaliated in the ſame kind, and the ſame degree, upon thoſe in their power, who have favoured, aided, or abetted, or ſhould favour, aid, or abet, the ſyſtem of miniſterial oppreſſion. 1775.

That your Majeſty may enjoy a long and proſperous reign, and that your deſcendants may govern theſe dominions, with honour to themſelves and happineſs to their ſubjects, is our ſincere and fervent prayer.

JOHN HANDCOCK, Preſident.

Colonies of N. Hampſhire.	John Langdon. Tho. Cuſhing.
Maſſachuſett's Bay.	Samuel Adams. John Adams. Treat Paine.
Rhode Iſland.	Stephen Hopkins. Samuel Ward. Eliphant Dyar.
Connecticut.	Roger Sherman. Silas Dean.
New York.	W. Levingſton. James Duane, John Alſop. Francis Lewis. John Jay. R. Livingſton, *ju.* Lewis Morris. Wm. Floyd. Henry Wiſner.
New Jerſey,	Wm. Livingſton John Deharts. Richard Smith.
Delaware Counties. -	Cæſar Rodney. Thom. M'Kean, Geo. Read.
Pennſylvania.	John Dickenſon. Benj. Franklin. George Roſs. James Wilſon. Charles Wilſon. Car. Humphreys. Edward Biddle.
Maryland. -	Mat. Tilghman. Tho. Johnſon, *ju.* William Pace. Samuel Chaſe. Thomas Stone.
Virginia, -	P. Henry, *jun.* R Henry Lee. Edm. Findleton. Benj. Harriſon, Thom Jefferſon.
N. Carolina,	Wm. Hooper. Joſeph Hewes.
S. Carolina,	H. Middleton. Thom. Lynch. Chopr. Gaeſden. J. Rutlege. Edw. Rutlege.

We

1775.

Different opinions reſpecting this petition.

We ſhall of ourſelves make no obſervations on the foregoing petition, but will cloſe this chapter, (as well as the American accounts for this year) with ſome thoughts of the legiſlature thereon.——Thoſe who favoured the plan of pacifying by conceſſion, loudly clamoured at the anſwer of Lord Dartmouth, as calculated to drive the colonies to the laſt extremities of independence and foreign connection; for this reception, they ſaid, of ſo dutiful and decent an addreſs, amounted to no leſs than a renunciation of their allegiance.—On the other hand, the friends of the miniſtry took it into a different point of view. The petition, they allowed, had a decent appearance. But did they formally admit the rights of parliament? Were they not ſtill in arms? and in that ſituation could their ſincerity be relied on? They ſaid, that they only wanted to gain time by a negociation, until they had formed their government, and eſtabliſhed their ſtrength in ſuch a manner, as would render all future efforts for their reduction ineffectual. We had already gone far in the expences of a war; we ſhould not now ſtop ſhort; but reap the benefits to government, which always ariſe from unſucceſsful rebellion. And beſides thoſe great objects, of puniſhing the obnoxious, and providing for our friends, to revit, without leaving room for a future conteſt, that unconditional ſubmiſſion upon the Americans, which no treaty or negociation could ever obtain. While on the contrary, if amicable terms were now entered into, all our expence and preparation would be thrown away; we muſt ſhrink from the propoſals we had made to foreign Princes for hiring their troops, which would degrade us in their eyes, as our tameneſs in putting up with the inſolence of our own people, would in thoſe of all Europe; and all the buſtle we had made would paſs over, without having impreſſed the colonies with a ſenſe of our dignity, or with the terror of our power. Beſides the nation was prepared by the language of war for the event, and it was not certain that vigorous meaſures, if it ſhould be found neceſſary to reſume them, would be ſo well received as they were in the preſent temper of the nation, whoſe favourable diſpoſition was to be carefully cultivated, and employed in the critical moment.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Affairs at Boſton continued (from page 93,) to the total embarcation of General Howe's army from that garriſon to Halifax.——From the blockade of Quebec, (page 112,) by Arnold, to the entire recovery of all Canada, particularizing the retaking of Montreal, Chamblee, St. John's, &c.——Continuation (from p. 132) of affairs in Virginia, North and South Carolinas.——Some account of Sir Peter Parker's ſquadron, Lord Cornwallis and General Clinton's troops, with their attack on Sullivan's Iſland.

1776. *January.*

Diſtreſſes of the army at Boſton during the winter.

THE delays and misfortunes which the tranſports and victuallers from England and Ireland had experienced, reduced our forces at Boſton to great diſtreſs. To their diſtreſs was added the mortification of ſeeing ſeveral veſſels which were laden with the neceſſaries and comforts of life, taken in the very entrance of the harbour; whilſt different circumſtances of tide, wind, or ſituation, diſabled the ſhips of war from preventing the miſchief. The loſs of moſt of the coal ſhips was particularly felt, as fuel could not be procured, and the climate rendered that article indiſpenſable. The wretched inhabitants were in a ſtate ſtill more deplorable. Detained againſt their will, cut off from all intercourſe with their friends, expoſed to all the conſequences of that contempt and averſion with which a great part of them were regarded by the ſoldiery, and at the ſame time in want of almoſt every neceſſary of life. Calamitous however as that ſituation was, it ſerved as a ſort of refuge to thoſe who were either zealous in favour of the King's government, or ſo diſſatisfied with the new ſtate of things, that they could no longer live with comfort, ſome of them hardly with ſafety, in their own homes.

It was even feared that the military ſtores would fail, and ſalt proviſions at laſt grew ſcarce. The troops at Bunker's Hill underwent great hardſhips, being obliged to lie in tents all the winter, under the driving ſnows, and expoſed to the almoſt intolerably cutting winds of the climate in that ſeaſon,

1776. which with the ſtrict and conſtant duty occaſioned by the ſtrength and vicinity of the enemy, rendered that ſervice exceedingly ſevere both to the private men and officers. Various attempts were made, to remedy or to leſſen ſome of the wants which now prevailed in the army. That of firing, which was the moſt immediately and intolerably preſſing, was in ſome meaſure relieved by the deſtruction of houſes.

The attempts made to procure proviſions were not attended with any great ſucceſs. Some veſſels which were ſent to Barbadoes, obtained through the aſſiſtance of the Governor, and before the matter was fully known, a quantity ſo moderate that it would not at other times have been taken more notice of than any common occurrence in trade; but being now cut off from their uſual reſources, and having as they ſaid, a famine ſtaring them in the face, with 80,000 Blacks, and 20,000 Whites to feed, and no ſufficient ſtock in hand, nor any certain ſupply in proſpect, the meaſure was deemed ſo dangerous, that it occaſioned a direct addreſs from the aſſembly to the king, including along with the detail of their own melancholy ſituation, ſtrong complaints againſt the conduct of the Governor.

Seven cargoes of proviſions deſignedly burnt by the provincials in Georgia.

A detachment of marines, with an armed ſhip and ſome tranſports, were ſent to Savannah in Georgia, with a view, as it would ſeem by the event, of obtaining cargoes of rice and other proviſions, whether by force or otherwiſe. The militia, however, took to their arms, and would not permit the marines to land, nor the ſhips to hold any correſpondence with the ſhore. In the courſe of the debate which aroſe upon this occaſion, ſome officers belonging to the Colony were ſeized and detained on board the ſhips, and their releaſe being refuſed with a high hand, and other circumſtances of aggravation occurring on both ſides, ſome batteries were ſpeedily erected by the militia on the banks of the river, and an engagement with cannon and ſmall arms took place, in which ſome blood was ſpilt, and ſeven loaded veſſels belonging to the Colony, which the commanders of the King's armed veſſels, ſeemingly by colluſion with the Captains or owners, had got poſſeſſion of, and whoſe cargoes would effectually have anſwered their purpoſe, were deſignedly burnt in the conflict.

In this ſtate of things on our ſide, the provincials before Boſton were well covered and ſupplied in their lines. They expected with the moſt earneſt ſolicitude the ſetting in of the froſt, which uſually takes place there about Chriſtmas, and generally covers the harbour, and all the adjoining rivers and creeks,

creeks, with a ſurface of ſolid ice. They founded great hopes upon this, as upon a moſt powerful auxiliary, by whoſe aid they did not only extend their views to the recovery of the town, but to the ſeizure or deſtruction of the fleet, as well as of the land forces. 1776.

In theſe they were diſappointed. The winter was uncommonly mild, and the froſt had none of the effects they expected. The expectation, however, probably influenced their operations, and occaſioned their continuing more quiet than they otherwiſe would have done. The arrival of a copy of the King's ſpeech,* with an account of the fate of the petition

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* In the ſpeech from the throne, at the opening of parliament, Oct. 26th, 1775, After accounting for this early meeting by the ſituation of America, heavy complaints were made of the miſrepreſentations of the leaders of ſedition in the colonies, who having firſt infuſed into the minds of the people, a ſyſtem of opinions repugnant to their true conſtitutional ſubordination, had at length commenced hoſtilities, and uſurped the whole powers of government. His Majeſty then entered into the difference of the views of thoſe leaders, and of thoſe of the crown and parliament, from whence the former derived their preſent advantages. The view of the latter was rather to undeceive, than puniſh. Therefore only ſmall forces were ſent, and propoſitions of a conciliatory nature accompanied the meaſures taken to enforce authority. The former, whilſt they endeavoured to delude with ſpecious profeſſions, had in view nothing but the eſtabliſhing of an independent empire. That the conſequences of the ſucceſs of each plan were too obvious. The ſpirit of the Britiſh nation was too high, and its reſources too numerous, to ſuffer her tamely to loſe what had been acquired with ſo great toil, nurſed with great tenderneſs, and protected at much expence of blood and treaſure. That wiſdom, and in the end clemency, required a full exertion of theſe reſources. That the navy had been encreaſed, and the land forces greatly augmented. Foreign ſuccours (though no treaty was then concluded) were held out. The diſpoſition of the Hanover troops in Mahon and Gibraltar was ſpecified. In the end, an aſſurance of the royal mercy was given, as ſoon as the deluded multitude ſhould become ſenſible of their error, and to prevent the inconveniencies which might ariſe from the great diſtance of their ſituation, and to remove as ſoon as poſſible the calamities which they ſuffer, authority would be given to certain perſons upon the ſpot, to grant general or particular pardons and indemnities, in ſuch manner, and to ſuch perſons, as they ſhould think fit, and to receive the ſubmiſſion of any province or colony which ſhould be

King's ſpeech.

1776. tion from the Continental Congreſs, is ſaid to have excited the greateſt degree of rage and indignation amongſt them; as a proof of which the former was publickly burnt in the camp; and they are ſaid upon this occaſion to have changed their colours from a plain red ground, which they had hitherto uſed, to a flag with thirteen ſtripes, as a ſymbol of the number and union of the Colonies.

Effects of the foregoing ſpeech.

In the mean time the arrival by degrees of ſeveral of thoſe ſcattered veſſels which had ſailed from theſe kingdoms with proviſions and neceſſaries, alleviated in a conſiderable degree the diſtreſſes of the forces at Boſton; and though the winter was not ſevere enough to anſwer all the purpoſes of their enemies, the climate prevailed ſo far as to render both parties fond of their quarters; to check the ſpirit of enterprize, and to prevent the effuſion of blood; ſo that for two or three months, an unexampled quiet prevailed on both ſides.

An ordnance ſhip ſeized.

During this ſtate of things, the American cruizers and privateers, though yet poor and contemptible, being for the greater part no better than whale boats, grew daily more numerous, and ſucceſsful againſt the tranſports and ſtore ſhips; and among a multitude of other prizes, had the fortune of taking one, which gave a new colour to their military operations. This was an ordnance ſhip from Woolwich, which had unfortunately ſeparated from her convoy, and being herſelf of no force, was taken without defence by a ſmall privateer. This veſſel contained beſides a large mortar upon a new conſtruction, ſeveral pieces of fine braſs cannon, a large quantity of ſmall arms and ammunition, with all manner of tools, utenſils, and machines, neceſſary for camps and artillery, in the greateſt abundance. The loſs of this ſhip was much reſented in England, and occaſioned ſome very ſevere animadverſion upon the Admiralty, both within doors and without, for hazarding a cargo of ſuch value and importance in a defenceleſs veſſel.

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diſpoſed to return to its allegiance. It was alſo obſerved, that it might be proper to authoriſe ſuch commiſſioners, to reſtore any province or colony, returning to its allegiance, to the free exerciſe of its trade and commerce, and to the ſame protection and ſecurity as if it had never revolted.——At the concluſion they were informed, that from aſſurances received, as well as from the general appearances of affairs in Europe, there was no apparent probability that the meaſures which they might adopt, would be interrupted by diſputes with any foreign power.

The

1776.

The tranquility at Boſton, was in the beginning of March unexpectedly broke in upon, by ſome ſudden and unexpected movements on the ſide of the provincials. It is ſaid, that as ſoon as the Congreſs had received intelligence of the Prohibitory Act,* and of the hiring of foreign troops, they immediately diſpatched inſtructions to Gen. Waſhington, totally to change the mode of carrying on the war, and to bring affairs at Boſton to the ſpeedieſt deciſion that was poſſible, in order that the army might be diſengaged, and at liberty to oppoſe the new dangers with which they were threatened.

Bad effects at Boſton on hearing of the Prohibitory-Bill and Foreign troops.

However

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* On the 20th of Nov. 1775, Lord North brought into the Houſe of Commons, the famous *Prohibitory Bill.* This Bill abſolutely interdicts all trade and intercourſe with the Thirteen United Colonies. All properties of Americans whether of ſhips or goods, on the high-ſeas or in the harbour, are declared forfeited to the captors; being the officers and crews of his majeſty's ſhips of war; and ſeveral clauſes of the bill were inſerted to facilitate and to leſſen the expence of the condemnation of prizes, and the recovery of prize-money. This bill, beſides its primary object, repealed the Boſton-port, with the Fiſhery, and Reſtraining Acts, their proviſions in ſome inſtances being deemed inſufficient in the preſent ſtate of warfare, and their operation in others, being liable to interfere with that of the intended law. It alſo enabled the crown to appoint commiſſioners, who beſides the power of ſimply granting pardons to individuals, were authorized to enquire into general and particular grievances, and empowered to determine, whether any part, or the whole of a colony, were returned to that ſtate of obedience, which might entitle them to be received within the king's peace and protection, in which caſe, upon a declaration from the commiſſioners, the reſtrictions in the preſent bill were to ceaſe in their favour.

Prohibitory Bill.

Treaties lately entered into between his Majeſty, the Landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, the Duke of Brunſwick, and the hereditary Prince of Heſſe Caſſel, for the hiring of different bodies of their troops for the American ſervice, amounting in the whole to about 17300 men. The conditions of theſe treaties were, That the troops were to enter into pay before they began to march; that levy-money was to be paid at the rate of near 7*l.* 10*s.* per man; that thoſe princes were alſo to be ſubſidized, and that a double ſubſidy is in one inſtance to be continued for two years, and for one year in another, after the troops have returned to their reſpective countries; and that they (the Heſſian troops) ſhould be under no controul of either King or parliament; for the expreſs

Foreign treaties.

1776.

New batteries opened.

However this was, a battery was opened near the water ſide, at a place called Phipp's Farm, on the night of the 2d of March, from whence a ſevere cannonade and bombardment was carried on againſt the town, and repeated on the enſuing nights. Whilſt the attention of the army was occupied by the firing of houſes and other miſchiefs incident to this new attack, they beheld with inexpreſſible ſurprize, on the morning of the 5th, ſome conſiderable works appear on the other ſide of the town, upon the heights of Dorcheſter Point, which had been erected in the preceding night, and from whence a 24 pound and a bomb battery, were ſoon after opened. Sume of our officers have acknowledged, that the expedition with which theſe works were thrown up, with their ſudden and unexpected appearance, recalled to their minds thoſe wonderful ſtories of enchantment and inviſible agency, which are ſo frequent in the Eaſtern Romances.

The ſituation of the army was now very critical. The new works, along with thoſe others which it was evident would now be ſpeedily conſtructed on ſome of the neighbouring hills, would command the town, a conſiderable part of the harbour, of the beach, from whence an embarkation muſt take place in the event of a retreat, and rendered the communication between the troops in the works at Boſton Neck, and the main body, difficult and dangerous.

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expreſs words of the treaty are, "that *they* ſhall remain under the "command of their general, to whom His Moſt Serene Highneſs "has entruſted the ſame."——The debates on theſe affairs were long and animated in both houſes, particularly with the Lords, where the Duke of Richmond moved for an addreſs, of a conſiderable length, to his majeſty, in which, (beſides ſeveral pointed obſervations relative to the treaties at large) he took a full and comprehenſive view of American affairs in general, and demonſtratively ſhewed from various laborious and accurate calculations, that the uſe of 17,300 mercenaries for the preſent year, would not, taking in all contingencies, coſt the nation leſs than one million and an half *ſter.* an expence, he maintained, not to be paralleled in the hiſtory of mankind, for the ſervice of an equal number of men; therefore moved that his Majeſty would be graciouſly pleaſed to countermand the march of the troops of Heſſe, Hanau, and Brunſwick; and likewiſe give directions for an immediate ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities in America, in order to lay a foundation for a happy and permanent reconciliation between the divided parts of this diſtracted empire. This motion was, however, rejected by the uſual majority, of about 100 to 32, including proxies, but was attended with an unuſual proteſt, reciting the terms of the addreſs at large.

In

In theſe circumſtances no alternative remained, but to abandon the town, or diſlodge the enemy and deſtroy the new works. General Howe, with his uſual ſpirit and reſolution, adopted the latter, and took the neceſſary meaſures for the embarkation of that very evening of five regiments, with the light infantry and grenadiers, upon a ſervice, which the whole army muſt of courſe been ultimately engaged in. This deſign was fruſtrated by the intervention of a dreadful ſtorm at night, which rendered the embarkation impracticable, and thereby probably prevented the loſs of a great number of brave men, if not of the whole army. 1776.

It is not, however, to be wondered at, that with a high ſenſe of the Britiſh military honour, as well as of his own, the General ſhould hazard much, rather than ſubmit to the indignity of abandoning the town. He commanded a force, which he knew had been conſidered and repreſented here, as ſufficient to look down all oppoſition in America; and which, in reality, with reſpect to the number of regiments, if not of men, the excellency of the troops, and character of the officers, and the powerful artillery which they poſſeſſed, would have been deemed reſpectable in any country, and dangerous by any enemy. With ſuch troops to give up that town which had been the original cauſe of the war; and the conſtant object of contention ſince its commencement, to a raw and deſpiſed militia, ſeemed excluſive of all other ill conſequences, a diſgrace not to be borne. But theſe brave men had, by a variety of events, and perhaps it will be thought, through original error and miſconduct in the arrangement of the war, been reduced to ſuch circumſtances, and hedged in, in ſuch a manner, that no means were left for an exertion of their force and courage, that were not ſubject to the greateſt danger without affording a proſpect of ſucceſs.

Fortune prevented this perilous trial in the firſt inſtance. On the day that ſucceeded the tempeſt, the deſign was reaſſumed, but upon a nearer inſpection it was diſcovered, that a new work had been thrown up, which was ſtronger than any of the former, and that the whole were now ſo completely fortified, that all hope of forcing them was at an end. It became clear alſo that Boſton was not a ſituation very happily choſen for the improvement of any advantage which might be obtained towards the reduction of the Colonies.

Nothing now remained but to abandon the town, and to convey the troops, artillery, and ſtores, on board the ſhips. Nor was this laſt reſort free from difficulty and danger. The enemy,

1776. enemy, however, continued quiet in their works, and made not the ſmalleſt attempt to obſtruct the embarkation, or even to moleſt the rear, it is ſaid, and, though it was poſitively denied by the miniſters in both houſes, ſeems to be generally believed, that ſome kind of convention or agreement, whether verbal, or only underſtood by ſecondary means, was eſtabliſhed between the Commanders in Chief on each ſide, and that the abſtaining from hoſtility on the one, was the condition of ſaving the town on the other. In proof of this it is affirmed, that combuſtibles were ready laid for firing the town, and that the ſelect men were permitted to go out, and to hold a conference with General Waſhington upon the ſubject.

Notwithſtanding this ſecurity, the embarkation could not be regulated in ſuch a manner, though ten days were ſpent in carrying it into execution, as to prevent ſome degree of precipitation, diſorder, and loſs. It reſembled more the emigration of a nation, than the breaking up of a camp. Fifteen hundred of the inhabitants, whoſe attachment to the royal cauſe had rendered them obnoxious to their countrymen, incumbered the tranſports with their families and effects. The Officers had laid out their money in furniture, and ſuch other conveniencies as were neceſſary to render their ſituation tolerable; no purchaſers could be procured for theſe effects; and it would have been cruelty in the extreme to many of them, to have been under a neceſſity of leaving their whole ſubſtance behind. The ſoldiers were embarraſſed by their continual duty, and all carriages and labour that could be procured in the town, were of courſe monopolized by the emigrant inhabitants. Every perſon had ſome private concern, which was ſufficient to occupy his time and thoughts. The ſick, wounded, women, and children, called for every care and attention, and of courſe increaſed the embarraſſment and diſtreſs. It will not be difficult to ſuppoſe ſome part of the confuſion incident to ſuch circumſtances.

Embarkation. The General's ſituation was truly pitiable. But he bore it with great fortitude; and conducted the whole with admirable temper. Some diſcontents appeared, which were to be endured and allayed. Scarcity of proviſions, and ill ſucceſs, always bred diſcontent in camps. This was in ſome meaſure the caſe at preſent. The General having received no advices from England ſince the preceding month of October, they conſidered themſelves in a great meaſure as abandoned, and left to extricate themſelves as they might out of the

the unfortunate ſituation in which they had been involved. Diſcontents are exceedingly fruitful; one generating a number of others in a very ſmall period of time. Mutual jealouſies prevailed between the army and navy; each attributing to the other, the cauſe of ſome part of that uneaſineſs which itſelf felt. The intended voyage to Halifax, was ſubject to circumſtances of a very alarming nature. The coaſt, at all times dangerous, was dreadfully ſo at this tempeſtuous equinoctial ſeaſon, and the multitude of ſhips, which amounted to about 150, increaſed the difficulty and apprehenſion. As the high north-eaſt winds now prevailed, they were alſo liable to be blown off to the Weſt Indies, without a ſtock of proviſions in any degree ſufficient to ſubſiſt them in ſuch a paſſage. And, to render matters ſtill more irkſome, they were going to a ſterile miſerable country, which was incapable of affording thoſe reliefs which they ſo much wanted. It could not paſs the obſervation, and was highly vexatious to the military, that all this dangerous voyage, if compleated, was directly ſo much out of their way. They were going to the northern extremity of the Continent, when their buſineſs lay in the ſouthern, or at leaſt about the center. 1776.

The neceſſity of the ſituation left no choice of meaſures, and regret was uſeleſs. As the rear embarked, General Waſhington marched into the town with Drums beating, colours flying, and in all the triumph of victory. He was received by the remaining inhabitants, and acknowledged by the refugees, who now recovered their ancient poſſeſſions, with every mark of reſpect and gratitude, that could poſſibly be ſhewn to a deliverer. The aſſembly of the province were no leſs zealous in their public acknowledgments. His anſwer was proper, moderate and becoming his ſituation. The king's forces were under a neceſſity of leaving a conſiderable quantity of artillery and ſome ſtores behind. The cannon upon Bunker's Hill, and at Boſton Neck, could not be carried off. Attempts were made to render them unſerviceable; but the hurry which then prevailed, prevented their having any great effect. Some mortars and pieces of cannon which were thrown into the water, were afterwards weighed up by the town's people. Mar. 17. G. *Waſhington* enters *Boſton.*

Thus was the long conteſted town of Boſton at length given up, the Colony of Maſſachuſett's Bay, for the preſent freed from war, and left at liberty to adopt every meaſure which could tend to its future ſtrength and ſecurity. It was above a week before the weather permitted the fleet to get entirely clear of the harbour and road; but they had ample G. *Howe* departs with the army to *Halifax.*

amends

1776. amends made them in the paſſage, the voyage to Halifax being ſhorter and happier than could be hoped for. Several ſhips of war were left behind to protect the veſſels which ſhould arrive from England; in which, however, they were not perfectly ſucceſsful, the great extent of the Bay, with its numerous iſlands and creeks, and the number of ſmall ports that ſurrounded it, affording ſuch opportunities to the provincial armed boats, and ſeveral privateers, that they took a number of theſe ſhips, which were ſtill in ignorance that the town had changed maſters.

Fortifications of Caſtle-William blown up

As ſeveral movements made by the enemy, and particularly their taking ſtations on the neighbouring iſlands, indicated a deſign of attacking Caſtle William, the poſſeſſion of which would be the means of locking up the ſhips of war in the harbour, and of rendering all future attempts upon the town by ſea impracticable, General Howe thought it neceſſary to blow up and demoliſh the fortifications on that iſland before his departure.

General Waſhington was now in poſſeſſion of the capital of Maſſachuſett's Bay; but being ignorant of the deſtination of the fleet, and apprehenſive of an attempt upon New-York, he detached ſeveral regiments for the protection of that city, on the very day upon which he took poſſeſſion of Boſton. The royal army were not however at that time in circumſtances that admitted of their undertaking any expedition. They did not exceed, it is ſaid, nine thouſand healthy and effective men, and were in other reſpects by no means ſufficiently provided.

The eſtates and effects of thoſe emigrants who had accompanied General Howe to Halifax, were ordered to be ſold, and the produce applied to the public ſervice. Some who ventured to ſtay behind, though they knew themſelves to be obnoxious to the preſent government, were brought to trial as public enemies, and betrayers of their country; and the eſtates of ſuch as were found guilty were confiſcated in the ſame manner. But nothing occupied ſo much at preſent the minds of the people of Boſton, or had ſo much attention paid to it by the province in general, as the putting of that town in ſuch a ſtate of defence, as might prevent a repetition of thoſe evils which it had lately undergone. For this purpoſe, the greateſt diligence was uſed in fortifying the town and harbour; ſome foreign engineers were procured to ſuperintend the works, and every inhabitant dedicated two days in the week to their conſtruction. Great doubts may, however, be entertained, whether Boſton can be rendered tenable

ble againſt an army, though theſe works may preſerve it from inſult. 1776.

During theſe tranſactions at Boſton, the Blockade of Quebec, was continued under great difficulties by Arnold. Reinforcements arrived ſlowly, and the Canadians, who are not by any means remarkable for conſtancy, were diſheartened and wavering. It ſeems, as if the Congreſs was unequal in conduct, as well as reſources, to the management of ſo many operations at the ſame time. The ſuccours that were ſent, ſuffered incredible hardſhips in their march; which they endured with that fortitude which had hitherto diſtinguiſhed the Provincials in this war. On the other hand, General Carleton guarded, with his uſual vigilance againſt every effort of fraud, force, and ſurprize; but as all ſupplies were cut off from the country, the inhabitants and garriſon experienced many diſtreſſes. Siege of Quebec continued from *p.* 112.

As the ſeaſon approached, in which ſupplies from England were inevitable, the Americans grew more active in their operations. They again renewed the ſiege, and erected batteries, and made ſeveral attempts by fire ſhips, and otherwiſe, to burn the veſſels in the harbour. They failed in theſe attempts, though ſome of them were very boldly conducted; and their troops were at one time drawn up, and ſcaling ladders, with every other preparation, in readineſs for ſtorming the town, during the confuſion which they expected the fire would have produced. Though they had not all the ſucceſs they wiſhed, they however burnt a great part of the ſuburbs, and the remaining houſes being pulled down to prevent the ſpreading of the conflagration, afforded a moſt ſeaſonable relief of fuel to the town, which had for ſome time been exceedingly diſtreſſed through the want of that neceſſary. Fruitleſs attempts to ſet the city on fire.

During this ſtate of things, a party of Canadians which had been embodied by Mr. Beaujeu, with a deſign of raiſing the ſiege, were encountered on their march, and eaſily diſperſed by a detachment of the rebels. Mar. 25,

This ſmall ſucceſs was not long ſufficient to ſupport the ſpirits of the Provincials. Having failed in all their attempts with ſhells, fireſhips, and red hot balls, to cauſe a conflagration in the city, their hope of taking it by ſtorm ceaſed, whilſt that of ſucceeding by a regular ſiege was daily leſſened; indeed their artillery was far from being equal to any great ſervice. Although conſiderable reinforcements arrived in the remote parts of the Province, the various impediments of bad roads, bad weather, and the want of neceſſaries ſuitable to the ſervice, prevented their being able to join them.

In

1776. In the ſtate of deſpondency conſequent of theſe circumſtances, that ſcourge and terror of the weſtern Continent and of its numerous nations, the ſmall pox broke out, and made its uſual cruel ravages amongſt them. Nor was the immediate effect with reſpect to life or health the worſt conſequence of the calamity; for that diſorder being conſidered as the American plague, and regarded with all the horror incident to that name, the dread of infection broke in upon every other conſideration, and rendered it difficult, if not impracticable, to ſuſtain diſcipline, or preſerve order.

Small-pox break out in the provincial camp.

In this ſituation, the Provincial accounts inform us, that they intended to raiſe the ſiege before the arrival of the ſuccours from England, and that General Wooſter, who at that time held the command, with ſome other of the principal officers, had already gone to Montreal to make ſome preparations neceſſary for the facilitating of that purpoſe. If ſuch a deſign was formed, it was prevented from being carried ſucceſsfully into execution, by the zeal and activity of the officers and crews of the Iſis man of war, and of two frigates which were the firſt that had ſailed from England with ſuccours, and who with great labour, conduct, and reſolution, having forced their way through the ice, arrived at Quebec before the paſſage was deemed practicable. The unexpected ſight of the ſhips, threw the beſiegers into the greateſt conſternation, which was not leſſened by the immediate effect, of their cutting off all communication between their forces on the different ſides of the river.

Arrival of the Iſis man of war with land and marine forces.

General Carleton, was too well verſed in military affairs to loſe any time in ſeizing the advantages which the preſent ſituation afforded. A ſmall detachment of land forces which arrived in the ſhips of war, together with their marines, being landed with the utmoſt expedition, and joined to the garriſon, the Governor immediately marched out at their head to attack the rebel camp. There he found every thing in the utmoſt confuſion; they had not even covered themſelves with an intrenchment, and having already begun a retreat, upon the appearance of our troops, they fled on all ſides, abandoning their artillery, military ſtores, ſcaling ladders, and other matters of incumbrance. The flight was ſo precipitate as ſcarcely to admit of any execution; nor were the King's forces in any condition for a purſuit, if prudence could even have juſtified the meaſure. Some of the ſick became priſoners. During this tranſaction, our ſmaller ſhips of war made their way up the river with ſuch expedition and ſucceſs, that they took ſeveral ſmall veſſels belonging to the enemy,

May 6th. Provincials before Quebec put to flight.

enemy, and retook the Gaſpee ſloop of war, which they had ſeized in the beginning of the preceding winter. 1776.

Thus was the mixed ſiege and blockade of Quebec raiſed, after a continuance of about five months. And thus was Canada preſerved by a fortitude and conſtancy, which muſt ever be remembered with honour to the Governor and garriſon. From this time the Provincials and all their followers experienced a continual ſeries of loſſes and misfortunes, in that province. A number of their ſick and wounded lay ſcattered about and hid in the neighbouring woods and villages, where they were in the greateſt danger of periſhing under the complicated preſſure of want, fear, and diſeaſe. To prevent this melancholy conſequence, General Carleton iſſued a proclamation * for their relief, which truly hoſpitable act alone, (diſtinct from all his military atchievements) gives him deſervedly the name of a generous, as well as great commander.

Towards the end of May, ſeveral regiments from Ireland, one from England, another from General Howe, together with the Brunſwick troops, arrived ſucceſſively in Canada; ſo that the whole force in that Province, when compleated

Additional forces arrive at Quebec.

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* *Proclamation by G. Carleton for the relief of the fugitive Provincials, after they had been driven from before Quebec.*

Proclamation for their relief.

WHEREAS I am informed, that many of his Majeſty's deluded ſubjects, of the neighbouring provinces, labouring under wounds and divers diſorders, are diſperſed in the adjacent woods and pariſhes, and in great danger of periſhing for want of proper aſſiſtance; all captains and other officers of militia are hereby commanded to make diligent ſearch for all ſuch diſtreſſed perſons, and afford them all neceſſary relief, and convey them to the general hoſpital, where proper care ſhall be taken of them: all reaſonable expences which may be incurred in complying with this order ſhall be repaid by the Receiver-General.

And, leſt a conſciouſneſs of paſt offences ſhould deter ſuch miſerable wretches from receiving that aſſiſtance which their diſtreſſed ſituation may require, I hereby make known to them, that as ſoon as their health is reſtored, they ſhall have free liberty to return to their reſpective provinces.

Given under my hand and ſeal of arms, at the Caſtle of St Lewis, in the city of Quebec, this 10th day of May, 1776.

GUY CARLETON.

was

1776. was eſtimated to about 13,000 men. The general rendezvouz was at Three Rivers, which lies halt way between Quebec and Montreal; and at the computed diſtance of about ninety miles from each. This place lies on the north ſide of St. Lawrence, and takes its name from the vicinity of one of the branches of a large river, whoſe waters are diſcharged thro' three mouths, into that great reſervoir.

The Provincials continued their retreat till they arrived in the borders of the river Sorel, which falls into the St. Lawrence at the diſtance of about 140 miles from Quebec, where they joined ſome of thoſe reinforcements that had not been able to proceed farther to their aſſiſtance; but the whole were now ſunk in ſpirit, and debilitated in act. To complete their misfortunes, the ſmall-pox had ſpread through all their quarters.

Provincials repulſed at the Three Rivers.

Theſe diſcouraging circumſtances were not ſufficient to damp the ſpirit of enterprize in their leaders. A very daring, and not ill-laid plan, was formed for the ſurprize of the king's forces at the Three Rivers; which, if it had been attended with all the ſucceſs it was capable of, might have been ranked among the moſt conſiderable military atchievements of that nature.

The Britiſh and Brunſwick forces were at this time much ſeparated. A conſiderable body were ſtationed at Three Rivers under the command of Brigadier General Frazer. Another under that of Brigadier General Neſbit, lay near them on board the tranſports. A greater than either along with the Generals Carleton, Burgoyne, Philips and the German General, Reideſel, were in ſeveral diviſions by land and water, on the way to Quebec. The diſtance from Sorel was about fifty miles, and ſeveral armed veſſels, and tranſports full of troops, which had got higher up than Three Rivers, lay full in the way.

In the face of all thoſe difficulties, a body of about 2000 men, under the command of a Major General Thompſon, embarked at Sorel in fifty boats, and coaſting the ſouth ſide of what is called the Lake of St. Peter, where the St. Lawrence ſpreads to a great extent, arrived at Nicolet, from whence they fell down the river by night, and paſſed to the other ſide, with an intention of ſurpriſing the forces under General Frazer. Three Rivers is rather to be conſidered as a long village, than a regular town; and the deſign was, that it ſhould be attacked a little before break of day, and at the ſame inſtant, by a ſtrong detachment from each end, while two ſmaller were drawn up in readineſs to cover or ſuppor

ſupport them. If the ſucceſs ſhould have proved complete, the deſign was extended to the deſtruction of all thoſe veſſels which lay near the ſhore. 1776.

The concurrent circumſtances neceſſary to give effect to this deſign were too numerous, to afford any ſtrong confidence of ſucceſs. It was one of thoſe bold undertakings which might have been productive of great advantage; but which was of too perilous a nature for any thing leſs than the moſt deſperate ſituation of affairs to juſtify. They miſſed their time by about an hour, which, though they paſſed the armed ſhips without obſervation, occaſioned their being diſcovered, and the alarm given at their landing. They afterwards got into bad grounds, and were involved into many other difficulties, which threw them into diſorder and confuſion. In this ſtate they found General Frazer's corps in preparation to receive them, having landed ſeveral light ſix pounders, which were played upon them with great effect. While they were thus engaged in front, Brigadier Neſbit, whoſe tranſports lay higher up the river, landed his forces full in their way back. June 8th

Nothing was left but a retreat, the accompliſhment of which was more to be wiſhed for than hoped. Neſbit's corps kept the river ſide to prevent their eſcape to the boats, while Frazer's, in purſuit, galled them ſeverely with their light artillery. Between both, they were driven ſome miles through a deep ſwamp, which they traverſed with inconceivable toil, expoſed to conſtant danger, and enduring every degree of diſtreſs. The Britiſh troops at length grew tired of the purſuit, and the woods afforded them a wiſhed-for ſhelter. The firſt and ſecond in command, with about 200 others, were taken priſoners. It will be eaſily conceived that our loſs was trifling.

This was the laſt appearance of vigour ſhewed by the Provincials in Canada. The whole army having joined at Three Rivers, puſhed forwards by land and water with great expedition. When the fleet arrived at Sorel, they found the enemy had abandoned that place ſome hours before, diſmantled the batteries which they had erected to defend the entrance into that river, and had carried off their artillery and ſtores. A ſtrong column was here landed under the command of General Burgoyne, with orders to advance along the Sorel to St. John's, whilſt the remainder of the fleet and army ſailed up the river to Longueil, the place of paſſage from the iſland of Montreal to La Prairie on the Continent. ——— 14.

——— Here they diſcovered that the Provincials had abandoned

1776. abandoned the city and iſland of Montreal on the preceding evening, and that if the wind had been favourable, they might have met at this place. The army was immediately landed on the Continent, and marching by La Prairie, croſſed the Peninſula formed by the St. Lawrence and the Sorel in order to join General Burgoyne at St. John's, where they expected a ſtand, and a ſtrong reſiſtance would have been made.

Montreal,

That General purſued his march along the Sorel without intermiſſion; but with that caution neceſſary in a country not wholly cleared of the enemy, and where their laſt and moſt deſperate efforts were to be expected. He arrived at St. John's on the evening of the 18th, where he found the buildings in flames, and nearly every thing deſtroyed that could not be carried off. The Provincials acted in the ſame manner at Chamblee, and burned ſuch veſſels as they were not able to drag up the rapids in their way to Lake Champlain, where they immediately embarked for Crown Point. —Though their flight was precipitate, they ſuſtained no loſs, and a General Sullivan, who commanded in the retreat, received public thanks for the prudence with which he conducted it, by which he ſaved their ruined army, at a time, they ſay, when it was encumbered with a vaſt multitude of ſick, moſt of whom were ill of the ſmall-pox.

St. *John's* and *Chamblee* retaken.

Thus was an end happily put to the war in Canada. The pleaſure of which was, however, conſiderably checked, by the reſtraint which was now laid upon the further operation of the army in that quarter. For as the enemy were maſters of Lake Champlain, it was impoſſible for the forces to proceed to the ſouthward, until ſuch a number of veſſels were conſtructed or obtained, as would afford a ſuperiority, and enable them to traverſe that lake with ſafety. The doing this was a work of labour and time; for though ſix armed veſſels were ſent from England for that purpoſe, the falls of Chamblee rendered the means of conveying them to the lake highly difficult, and a matter which required much ingenuity and induſtry. A vaſt number of other veſſels were alſo neceſſarily to be conſtructed both for conveyance and protection.

All *Canada* recovered.

The neceſſity under which we have ſeen Governor Martin obliged to ſeek refuge on board a ſhip of war in Cape Fear river, did not damp his ardour in the public ſervice, nor reſtrain his attempts to reduce the Province of North Carolina to obedience. His confidence of ſucceſs was increaſed, by the knowledge he had that a ſquadron of men of war with ſeven

Affairs in North *Carolina*, continued from *p.* 132.

ſeven regiments, under the conduct of Sir Peter Parker and Lord Cornwallis, were to depart from Ireland on an expedition to the ſouthern Provinces in the beginning of the year, and that North Carolina was their firſt if not principal object. He alſo knew that General Clinton, with a ſmall detachment, was on his way from Boſton to meet them at Cape Fear. 1776.

The connection he had formed with a body of deſperate people, lately conſidered as Rebels to the King's government, now equally enemies to the Provincial eſtabliſhment, who we have frequently had occaſion to take notice of under the name of *Regulators*, as well as with the Highland emigrants, ſeemed to inſure the reduction of the inſurgents, even independent of the expected force. That colony was deemed the weakeſt in America, except Georgia; and the two parties we have mentioned were numerous, active, daring, and the former were at this time, as well as the latter, zealouſly attached to the royal cauſe. The Highlanders were conſidered as naturally warlike, and the Regulators, from ſituation, habits, and manner of living, to be much bolder, hardier, and better markſmen than thoſe who had been bred to other courſes, and in more civilized parts of the country.

M'Donald's commiſſion.

The Governor ſent ſeveral commiſſions to theſe people for the raiſing and commanding of regiments, and granted another to a Mr. Mc'Donald to act as their general. He alſo ſent them a proclamation, commanding all perſons on their allegiance, to repair to the royal ſtandard, which was erected by General M'Donald about the middle of February.

Bri. Gen. Moore takes poſſeſſion of Rockfiſh-bridge.

Upon the firſt advice of their aſſembling at a place called Croſs Creek, Brigadier General Moore immediately marched at the head of the Provincial regiment which he commanded, with ſuch militia as he could ſuddenly collect, and ſome pieces of cannon, within a few miles of them, and took poſſeſſion of an important poſt called Rockfiſh Bridge, which, as he was much inferior in ſtrength, he immediately intrenched and rendered defenſible. He had not been many days in this poſition, where he was receiving and expecting ſuccours, when General M'Donald approached at the head of his army, and ſent a letter to Moore, incloſing the Governor's proclamation, and recommending to him and his party to join the King's ſtandard by a given hour the next day, or that he muſt be under the neceſſity of conſidering them as enemies. Feb. 15.

1776. As Moore knew that the Provincial forces were marching from all quarters, he protracted the negociation, in hopes that the Tory army, as they called it, might have been ſurrounded. In his final anſwer he declared, that he and his officers conſidered themſelves as engaged in a cauſe the moſt glorious and honourable in the world, the defence of the liberties of mankind; he reminded the emigrants of the ungrateful return they made to the kind reception they met in the Colony; and the General, with ſome of his officers, of an oath they had taken a little before, and upon which they were permitted to come into the country, that they only came to ſee their friends and relations, without any concern whatever in public affairs. In return to the proclamation, he ſent them the teſt propoſed by the Congreſs, with a proffer, that if they ſubſcribed it, and laid down their arms, they ſhould be received as friends; but if they refuſed to comply, they muſt expect conſequences ſimilar to thoſe which they had held out to his people.

In the mean time, M'Donald perceived the danger he was in of being encloſed, and abruptly quitting his ground, endeavoured with conſiderable dexterity, by forced marches, the unexpected paſſing of rivers, and the greateſt celerity of movement, to diſengage himſelf. It ſeems, the great and immediate object in view with this party, was to bring Governor Martin, with Lord William Campbell, and General Clinton, who had by this time joined them, into the interior country, which they judged would be a means of uniting all the back ſettlers of the ſouthern Colonies in the royal cauſe, of bringing forward the Indians, and of encouraging the well affected to ſhew themſelves in all places.

Action at Moore's Creek-Bridge. The provincial parties were, however, ſo cloſe in the purſuit, and ſo alert in cutting the country and ſeizing the paſſes, that M'Donald at length found himſelf under the neceſſity of engaging a Colonel Caſwell, who, with a thouſand militia and minute men, had taken poſſeſſion of a place called Moore's Creek Bridge, where they had thrown up an intrenchment. The royaliſts were by all accounts much ſuperior in number, having been rated from 1500 to 3000, the former number of which, M'Donald, after the action, acknowledged them to be. The emigrants began an attack with great fury; but Feb. 27. M'Cleod, the ſecond in command, and a few more of their braveſt officers and men being killed at the firſt onſet, they ſuddenly loſt all ſpirit, and fled with the utmoſt precipitation, and, as the provincials ſay, deſerted their General, who was taken priſoner, as were nearly all their leaders, and the reſt totally broken and diſperſed.

This

This victory was a matter of great exultation and triumph to the Carolinians. They had ſhewn that their province was not ſo weak as was imagined; for though their force actually in the engagement was not conſiderable, they had raiſed 10,000 in about ten days. But what was ſtill more flattering, and, perhaps not of leſs real importance, they had encountered Europeans (who were ſuppoſed to hold them in the moſt ſovereign contempt, both as men and as ſoldiers) in the field, and defeated them with an inferior force. If the zeal of theſe people could have been kept dormant until the arrival of the force from Ireland, it ſeems more than probable that the ſouthern colonies would have conſiderably felt the impreſſion of ſuch an inſurrection. But now their force and ſpirits were ſo entirely broken, their leaders being ſent to different priſons, and the reſt ſtripped of their arms, and watched with all the eyes of diſtruſt, that no future effort could be reaſonably expected from them. Perhaps too great a dependence was laid on their power and proweſs, while thoſe of the oppoſite ſide were meaſured by a ſcale equally deceitful. It is, however, extremely difficult to regulate or reſtrain the caprice or violence of thoſe leaders who aſſume authority in ſuch ſeaſons. 1776.

A ſquadron of five frigates were ſent out by the Congreſs early in the year, under the command of a Mr. Hopkins,§ who ſailed with them to Bahama iſlands; where they ſtripped that of Providence, which is the principal, of a conſiderable quantity Mar. 3d. Hopkins ſtrips the Bahama Iſlands of ſtores & artillery.

§ Mr. Robert Hopkins was born at Portſmouth in New England, in the year 1718. His father being in the ſea ſervice, and diſcovering an early inclination in his ſon towards that way of life, beſides the Latin and Greek tongues, he had him taught the ſeveral branches of the mathematicks, particularly thoſe of navigation, and at a proper age, when he had ſufficiently acquired the theory, to add practice thereto, he put him an apprentice to a Mr. Wainwright, commander of the Joſeph and Anne, a veſſel of 250 tons burthen. It is to be preſumed, old Mr. Hopkins' reaſons for indenting his ſon to another perſon rather than to himſelf was, leſt he ſhould preſume too much on his paternal affection, and thereby probably neglect his other duties; but this caution, however well intended, we are of opinion, was premature, our hero, in this capacity, omitting no opportunity of making himſelf maſter of every branch of ſea-ſervice, in teſtimony of which, at the expiration of his third year, capt. Wainwright made him his chief mate, in which ſtation he behaved with great ſatisfaction to both captain and crew. *Character*

At

1776. tity of artillery and ſtores; but were diſappointed in the powder, which they moſt wanted, through the prudence of the Governor,

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At the cloſe of his apprenticeſhip he quitted the Joſ. and Anne, and engaged as mate with an old ſchool-fellow of his, who had juſt got the command of a veſſel at North Carolina, then bound from that port to London. In this paſſage, there aroſe ſome altercation between the maſter and mate, in conſequence of a quondam miſtreſs belonging to the latter, who was then aboard.

About this time the war with Spain raged with great violence, and men were greatly wanted for the navy; the preſs-gangs, and ſloops upon the impreſs ſervice ſwarmed every where, and the uſual protections were of no avail. His captain, through pique, took this opportunity of parting with him; for being boarded by a man of war near the coaſt of Carolina, Hopkins with ſome of the common hands were impreſſed, and it proved uſeleſs to him to plead his protection as then chief mate, his captain telling the lieutenant, that he had been in ſuch a ſtation, but was then broke for mutinous behaviour, and therefore deſired Hopkins to be ſent aboard particularly, giving a charge to the lieutenant to have a ſtrict eye over him, he being, as he ſaid, of a deſperate diſpoſition.

This ſhip of war ſhortly after joined Admiral Vernon's fleet, where Hopkins was put on board the Burford, the flag ſhip. In this new ſtation, he endeavoured to ſtifle his reſentment to his late captain, and to conform himſelf to his preſent birth; in which he ſucceeded ſo well, that in a little time, he was obſerved not only to be an expert ſeaman and able navigator, but of a quite contrary diſpoſition to what he had been repreſented; and at the attack on Portobello, which ſoon followed, he gave an admirable ſpecimen of his courage and conduct, all which being made known to his Admiral, our hero was ordered to walk the quarter-deck, and on his arrival in England, got to be rated as maſter's mate on board his majeſty's ſtore ſhip, Prince Royal, cap. Edward Barber; and in the year 1747, having paſſed his examination at the Trinity Houſe, he was appointed maſter of the Weazel ſloop, in which ſtation he continued till the peace.

In the year 1749 he returned home, juſt time enough to cloſe his father's eyes, who divided his fortune equally between him and his ſtep-brother, (a Mr. Whipple, who had proved a worthy and deſerving young man). Mr. Hopkins then made his chief reſidence in America, and bought a veſſel in which he traded to London, till the war broke out in the year 1755, when he again purſuing the calls of honour, returned to the navy, and was maſter of ſeveral ſhips till the peace of 1763.

Governor, who ſent 150 barrels of it away in a ſmall veſſel, the night before they landed. They brought off the Governor, and ſome other public officers, as priſoners; and after taking ſeveral prizes in their return, fell in at length with the Glaſgow frigate of war, accompanied with a tender, the latter of which they took, and the former eſcaped with difficulty after a very ſharp engagement. 1776.

Lord Dunmore, with his fleet of fugitives, continued on the coaſts and in the rivers of Virginia for a great part of the year; as every place was now ſtrictly guarded, thoſe unhappy people, who had put themſelves under his protection, underwent great diſtreſſes. The heat of the weather, the badneſs of proviſions, with the cloſeneſs and filth of the ſmall veſſels, in which they were crowded, by degrees produced that malignant and infectious diſtemper, which is known by the name of the Jail or Peſtilential Fever. This dreadful diſorder made great havock among them, but particularly affected the negroes, moſt of whom it ſwept away. After various adventures, in which they were driven from place to place, and from iſland to iſland, by the Virginians, ſeveral of the veſſels were driven on ſhore in a gale of wind, and the wretched fugitives became captives to their own countrymen. At length, every place being ſhut againſt, and hoſtile to the remainder, and neither water nor proviſions to be obtained, even at the expence of blood, it was found neceſſary, towards the beginning of Auguſt, to burn the ſmaller and leaſt valuable veſſels, and to ſend the remainder, amounting to between 40 and 50 ſail, with the exiles, to ſeek ſhelter and retreat to Florida, Bermudas, and the Weſt-Indies. In this manner ended the hopes entertained by the employment of the negroes to ſuppreſs the rebellion in the ſouthern colonies. This meaſure,

Lord *Dunmore* abandons the coaſts of *Virginia* (continued from *page* 132)

Fugitives diſpers'd.

It had been regulated at that peace, that all commiſſion and warrant officers ſhould be employed for the ſpace of three years in rotation. Mr. Hopkins waited with patience the firſt three years, and came to London in 1776, expecting to be employed in his turn, but being diſappointed, and perceiving others of inferior abilities preferred, Hopkins could not condeſcend to ſolicit, and returned to America, throwing up his half-pay, and reſolving to attach himſelf to his native country for the reſt of his days.

When the American troubles made it neceſſary for the Congreſs to form a Marine, Mr. Hopkins, from his experience, courage, and abilities, was thought a proper perſon to be at the head of it. He accepted the commiſſion with chearfulneſs, and how he has acted ſince, may be ſeen in the progreſs of this hiſtory.

rather

1776. rather invidious than powerful, tended infinitely to inflame the diſcontents in thoſe colonies, without adding any thing to the ſtrength of the royal arms. The unhappy creatures who engaged in it, are ſaid to have periſhed almoſt to a man.

Sir *Peter Parker's* ſquadron with L. *Cornwallis* and troops, arrive at *Capefear.*

It had for ſome time paſt been the fortune of the fleets, tranſports and victuallers, which had been ſent to America, to meet with ſuch exceedingly bad weather on their paſſage, ſuch delays, and ſo many untoward circumſtances of different ſorts, as in a great degree fruſtrated the end of their deſtination. Sir Peter Parker's ſquadron, which ſailed from Portſmouth at the cloſe of the year, from an unexpected delay in Ireland, and bad weather afterwards, did not arrive at cape Fear till the beginning of May, where they were detained by various cauſes till the end of the month. There they found General Clinton, who had lately been at New-York, and from thence proceeded to Virginia, where he had ſeen lord Dunmore, and finding that no ſervice could be effected at either place with his ſmall force, came thither to wait for them.

They meet G. *Clinton.*

The ſeaſon of the year was much againſt the operations of the troops at this time in the ſouthern colonies, the exceſſive heat having rendered them ſickly, even at Cape Fear, notwithſtanding the plenty of refreſhments they procured, and the little labour they had upon their hands. Something, however, muſt be done, and Charleſtown, the capital of S. Corolina, was within the line of Sir Peter Parker and Lord Cornwallis's inſtructions. They had but little knowledge of General Howe's ſituation; the only information that General Clinton received of his evacuating Boſton, being from the American news-papers. And it happened unluckily, that a veſſel, which General Howe had diſpatched from Halifax with orders for their proceeding to the northward, met with ſuch delays in her paſſage, that ſhe did not arrive in Cape Fear till after their departure.

Proceed to *Charles town.*

June 1ſt. Marine force at *Charles-town Bar.*

The fleet anchored off Charleſtown Bar in the beginning of June. They were joined before they proceeded to action by the Experiment man of war; and the naval force then conſiſted of the Commodore Sir Peter Parker's ſhip, the Briſtol, of 50 guns; the Experiment, of the ſame force; the Active, Solebay, Acteon, and Syren frigates, of 28 guns each; the Sphynx of 20 guns, a hired armed ſhip of 22, a ſmall ſloop of war, an armed ſchooner, and the Thunder bomb-ketch. The paſſing of the Bar was a matter of time, difficulty and danger, eſpecially to the two large ſhips, which, notwithſtanding the taking out of their guns, and the uſing of every other

mean

means to lighten them as much as poſſible, both touched the ground and ſtuck ſeveral times. 1776.

The land forces were commanded by General Clinton, Lord Cornwallis, and Brigadier General Vaughan. It was remarkable, that at the time General Clinton ſailed from Boſton, General Lee, at the head of a ſtrong detachment from the army before that place, immediately ſet out to ſecure New-York from the attempt which it was ſuppoſed the former would have made upon that city. Having ſucceeded in that object, Gen. Clinton could not but be ſurprized at his arrival in Virginia, to find Lee in poſſeſſion, and in the ſame ſtate of preparation, in which he had left him at New-York. Upon his departure for Cape Fear, Lee again traverſed the Continent with the utmoſt expedition to ſecure North Carolina. And at length, upon the further progreſs of the fleet and army to the ſouthward, Lee again proceeded with equal celerity to the defence of Charleſtown.

The firſt object of our forces, after paſſing the bar, was the attack of a fort which had been lately erected, though not made altogether complete, upon the ſouth-weſt point of Sullivan's Iſland. This fort commanded the paſſage to Charleſtown, which lay farther weſt, at about ſix miles diſtance; and notwithſtanding the lateneſs of its conſtruction, was with propriety conſidered as the key of that harbour. It is ſaid to have been repreſented to our commanders as in even a more imperfect ſtate than it was found in; but if the deſcription had been otherwiſe, it is not probable they would have expected that a raw militia could have been able, for any length of time, to have ſupported the great weight of fire from our ſhips, even excluding the co-operation of the land forces.

Troops land at Long-Iſland.

The troops were landed on Long-Iſland, which lies nearer, and to the eaſtward of Sullivan's; being ſeparated only by ſome ſhoals, and a creek called the Breach, which are deemed paſſable at low water, the ford being repreſented to our officers as only eighteen inches in depth in that ſtate. The Carolinians had poſted ſome forces with a few pieces of cannon near the north-eaſtern extremity of Sullivan's Iſland, at the diſtance of near two miles from the fort, where they threw up works to prevent the paſſage of the Royal army over the breach. General Lee was encamped with a conſiderable body of forces on the continent, at the back and to the north-ward of the iſland, with which he held a communication open by a bridge of boats, and could by that means, at any time, march the whole, or any part of his force, to ſupport

1776. port that poſt which was oppoſed to our paſſage from Long-Iſland. The latter is a naked burning ſand, where the troops ſuffered greatly from their expoſure to the intenſe heat of the ſun. But the fleet and army were greatly diſtreſſed through the badneſs of the water, that which is found on the ſea-coaſts of South Carolina being every where brackiſh. Nor were they in a much better condition, with reſpect either to the quantity or quality of proviſions.

Notwithſtanding the diſpatch which theſe inconveniencies rendered neceſſary, ſuch delays occurred in carrying the deſign into execution, that it was near the end of the month before the attack upon Sullivan's Iſland took place; a ſeaſon which was applied by the provincials with great aſſiduity to the completion of their works. Every thing being at length ſettled between the commanders by ſea and land, the Thun-
June 28. der bomb, covered by the armed ſhip, took her ſtation in the morning, and began the attack, by throwing ſhells at the fort as the fleet advanced. About eleven o'clock, the Briſtol, Experiment, Active, and Solebay, brought up directly againſt the fort and began a moſt furious and inceſſant cannonade. The Sphynx, Acteon, and Syren, were ordered to the weſtward, to take their ſtation between the end of the iſland and Charleſtown, partly thereby to enfilade the works of the fort, partly, if poſſible, to cut off the communication between the iſland and the continent, which would of courſe, cut off the retreat of the garriſon, as well as all ſuccours from the latter; and partly to prevent any attempts that might be made by fire-ſhips or otherwiſe, to interrupt the grand attack. This part of the deſign was rendered unfortunate by the ſtrange unſkilfulneſs of the pilot, who entangled the frigates in the ſhoals called the Middle Grounds, where they all ſtuck faſt; and though two of them were in ſome time with damage and difficulty got off, it was then too late, and they were beſides in no condition, to execute the intended ſervice. The Acteon could not be got off, and was burnt by the officers and crew the next morning, to prevent her materials and ſtores from becoming a prey to the enemy.

Attack on Sullivan's Iſland.

Whilſt the continued thunder from the ſhips ſeemed ſufficient to ſhake the fierceneſs of the braveſt enemy, and daunt the courage of the moſt veteran ſoldier, the return made by the fort, could not fail of calling for the reſpect, as well as of highly incommoding the brave ſeamen of Britain. In the midſt of that dreadful roar of artillery, they ſtuck with the greateſt conſtancy and firmneſs to their guns; fired

deliberately

deliberately and ſlowly, and took a cool and effective aim. The ſhips ſuffered accordingly; they were torn almoſt to pieces, and the ſlaughter was dreadful. Never did Britiſh valour ſhine more conſpicuous, and never did our marine, in an engagement of the ſame nature with any foreign enemy, experience ſo rude an encounter. The ſprings of the Briſtol's cable being cut by the ſhot, ſhe lay for ſome time expoſed in ſuch a manner to the enemy's fire, as to be moſt dreadfully raked, the brave Captain Morris, after receiving a number of wounds, which would have ſufficiently juſtified a gallant man in retiring from his ſtation, ſtill with a noble obſtinacy diſdained to quit his duty, until his arm being at length ſhot off, he was carried away in a condition which did not afford a poſſibility of a recovery. It is ſaid that the quarter-deck of the Briſtol was at one time cleared of every perſon but the Commodore, who ſtood alone a ſpectacle of intrepidity and firmneſs, which has ſeldom been equalled, never exceeded. The others on that deck were either killed or carried down to have their wounds dreſſed. Nor did Captain Scot, of the Experiment, miſs his ſhare of the danger or glory, who beſides the loſs of an arm, received ſo many other wounds that his life was at firſt deſpaired of. 1776.

The fire from the Britiſh ſhips was not thrown away; though it did not produce all the effect which was hoped and expected. But the fortifications were much firmer than they had been thought, and their lowneſs preſerved them in a great degree from the weight of our ſhot. They were compoſed of palm-trees and earth, and the merlons were of an unuſual thickneſs. The guns were at one time ſo long ſilenced, that it was thought the fort had been abandoned. It ſeems extraordinary, that a detachment of the land forces were not in readineſs on board the tranſports or boats, to profit of ſuch an occaſion. But theſe are only a part of the circumſtances relative to the engagement which have never been ſufficiently cleared up. The praiſe beſtowed upon the garriſon for the conſtancy and bravery of their defence, by the Americans in general, as well as by General Lee, ſhew that they neither abandoned their guns, nor were changed; however they might be, and undoubtedly were reinforced. It appears by their accounts, that the ſilence of the fort proceeded from the expenditure of all their powder, and their waiting for a ſupply from the Continent; which, probably, did not arrive the ſooner, from the neceſſity of its being conveyed through the line of fire from the men of war.

During

1776. During this long, hot, and obſtinate conflict, the ſeamen looked frequently and impatiently to the eaſtward, ſtill expecting to ſee the land forces advance from Long-Iſland, drive the rebels from their intrenchment, and march up to ſecond their attack upon the fort. In theſe hopes they were grievouſly diſappointed. Such various accounts have been given of the cauſe of this inaction of the land forces, that it is difficult to form any decided opinion upon the ſubject. The Gazette, from whence a ſatisfactory ſolution of all difficulties might be expected, is ſo totally defective and diſſatisfactory, that it ſeems to have laid a foundation for every other error and contradiction relative to this buſineſs. That account ſays, that the King's forces were ſtopped by an impracticable depth of water, where they expected to have paſſed nearly dryſhod. To ſuppoſe that the Generals, and the officers under their command ſhould have been nineteen days in that ſmall iſland, without ever examining, until the very inſtant of action, the nature of the only paſſage by which they could render ſervice to their friends and fellows, fulfil the purpoſe of their landing, and anſwer the ends for which they were embarked in the expedition, would ſeem a great defect in military prudence and circumſpection. But there might be reaſons for concealing a true ſtate of the affair. Until that ſtate appears, it would be unjuſt to lay any imputation on the officers concerned in ſo critical a ſervice. The only rational ſolution of the fact, muſt, for the preſent, be drawn from the different American accounts; from theſe it is to be inferred, that the poſt which the Provincials poſſeſſed at the end of Sullivan's Iſland, was in ſo ſtrong a ſtate of defence, the approaches on our ſides ſo diſadvantageous, and Lee's force in ſuch preparation and capability of cruſhing us in the conflict, that General Clinton would have run the moſt manifeſt and inexcuſable riſque, of the ruin, if not total loſs of his forces, if he had ventured upon an attack. To this may be added, that it was only upon a near approach, that our people acquired any certain knowledge of the force of the enemy.

Probable cauſes for the land forces not engaging in this attack.

The action continued, until the darkneſs of the night compelled that ceſſation, which the eagerneſs of the aſſailants, worn down as they were with fatigue, and weakened with loſs, was ſtill unwilling to accept. Sir Peter Parker, after every effort of which a brave man is capable, finding that all hope of ſucceſs was at an end, and the tide of ebb nearly ſpent, between nine and ten o'clock in the evening, withdrew his ſhattered veſſels from the ſcene of action, after an engagement

engagement which had been ſupported with uncommon courage and vigour for above ten hours. The Briſtol had 111, and the Experiment 79 men, killed and wounded; and both ſhips had received ſo much damage, that the Provincials conceived ſtrong hopes, that they could never be got over the bar. The frigates, though not leſs emulous in the performance of their duty, being leſs pointed at than the great ſhips, did not ſuffer a proportional loſs. The bomb veſſels did not do all the ſervice upon this occaſion which was expected; whether it was from overcharging in conſequence of having originally taken too great a diſtance, which has been ſaid, or whether it proceeded from ſome fault in the conſtruction which ſeems more probable; however, it was, the beds of the mortars were in ſome time ſo looſened and ſhattered as to become utterly unſerviceable. * 1776.

Colonel Moultrie, who commanded in the fort, received great and deſerved applauſe from his countrymen for the courage and conduct by which he was ſo much diſtinguiſhed in its defence. The garriſon alſo received a great ſhare of praiſe, and a ſerjeant was alſo diſtinguiſhed by a preſent of a ſword from the Preſident of the Colony, for a particular act of great bravery.

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* Including the loſs that the Briſtol and Experiment ſuſtained, as before-mentioned, there was in the whole of this unſucceſsful engagement, 175 killed, and near the ſame complement wounded, of as brave men as ever the Britiſh navy produced.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

The General Congreſs throw off their allegiance to Great Britain, and declare themſelves an Independent Power.——*Enter into freſh articles of confederation and perpetual union,* &c.——*General Howe lands at Staten Iſland.*——*Fruitleſs attempts to bring about conciliatory meaſures.*——*Engagements at Long-Iſland, New-York, Hell-Gate, Frog-Neck, and White-Plains.*——*The taking of forts Waſhington and Lee; with ſome account of the Jerſeys, and Rhode-Iſland.*

1776. DURING the foregoing tranſactions, the Congreſs took an opportunity of feeling the general pulſe of the people, and of preparing them for the DECLARATION of INDEPENDENCY which was to follow, by a kind of *Circular Manifeſto* to the ſeveral Colonies, ſtating the cauſes which rendered it, as they ſaid, neceſſary, that all authority under the crown ſhould be totally ſuppreſſed, and all the powers of government taken reſpectively into their own hands. In ſupport of this poſition they inſtanced the *Prohibitory Act*, by which they were excluded from the protection of the crown; the rejection of their petition for redreſs of grievances and reconciliation; and the intended exertion of all the force of Great Britain, aided by foreign mercenaries, for their deſtruction. They concluded with a recommendation to theſe Colonies: whoſe government was not already ſufficient, to proceed to the eſtabliſhment of ſuch a form, as was neceſſary to the preſervation of internal peace, and ſuited to the preſent exigency of their affairs, for the defence of their lives, liberties, and properties, againſt the hoſtile invaſions, and cruel depredations of their enemies.

May 15. Circular letter from the Congreſs for the eſtabliſhment of new governments in the colonies.

Penſylvania and Maryland were the only Colonies that in that part oppoſed the eſtabliſhment of a new government, and the Declaration of *Independency*. A majority in the aſſembly of the former, though eager for redreſs of grievances, regarded with horror every idea of a total ſeparation from the parent ſtate. But though they knew that great numbers

numbers in the Province held ſimilar ſentiments, they were alſo ſenſible, that the more violent formed a very numerous and powerful body; that they had already taken fire at their heſitation, and conſidered them rather as ſecret enemies, than luke-warm friends. Their ſituation was beſides difficult. If they broke the union of the Colonies, and thereby forfeited the aſſiſtance and protection of the others, they had no certainty of obtaining a redreſs of thoſe grievances, nor the ſecurity of thoſe rights, for which they were as willing to contend in their own way as the moſt violent; but were not yet willing to give up all hope, nor to break off all poſſibility of accommodation. Thus critically circumſtanced they declared that the queſtion of *Independence* was a matter of too great importance for them to decide finally upon, and that they would therefore refer it to their conſtituents together with the arguments which had been uſed on both ſides of the queſtion. 1776.

It was manifeſtly a ſtep from which it would not be eaſy to retreat. On one hand, the ſeparation from Great-Britain, even if it could be finally accompliſhed, muſt be attended with many evident inconveniencies. The protection of the great parent ſtate, and the utility of the power of a common ſovereign to balance ſo many ſeparate, and, poſſibly, diſcordant commonwealths, beſides many political and many commercial advantages derived from the old union, muſt appear in a clear light to every ſober and diſcerning perſon. On the other hand, it was ſaid, that their liberty was their firſt good, without which all the other advantages would be of no value. That if they were to ſubmit to a great ſtanding army, compoſed of foreigners as well as Engliſh, compoſed in part even of their own ſlaves, and of ſavages, what terms were they to hope for? The moment their arms were laid down they muſt be at the mercy of their enemy. For what end did they take up theſe arms? If it was to ſecure their liberty, to lay them down without that ſecurity, would be to own that their firſt reſiſtance was cauſeleſs rebellion; and the pardon offered, was the only ſatisfaction for the preſent, or ſecurity for the future, they were given to expect. Did they reſiſt power only to obtain a pardon? Were they ſo abſurd originally, or are they ſo cowardly now? If then their object is refuſed to all the entreaties by Great-Britain; if ſhe abandons them to plunder without redemption, except on unconditional ſubmiſſion, how is the object of their reſiſtance to be obtained? By war only. But as long as they acknowledged the claims of the crown of Great-Britain, ſo

long

1776. long will their councils and generals be deſtitute of all civil and military authority. The war they carry on muſt of courſe be irregular, feeble, and without the ſmalleſt proſpect of ſucceſs. Orders will be given, which none will be obliged to obey; and conſpiracies and mutinies will be formed, which none will have a juſt power to puniſh or repreſs. Neither will any foreign power give them any ſupport againſt the hoſtile combination of Great-Britain, and ſo many foreign powers as ſhe has called to her aſſiſtance, ſo long as they hold themſelves to be ſubjects. We do not break the connection (ſaid they), it is already broke and diſſolved by an act of parliament; and thus abandoned, all laws human and divine, not only permit, but demand of us, to provide every internal and external means for our own preſervation.

In theſe ſentiments, by a reference to the people, the matter was brought to a fair trial of ſtrength between the two parties; when it was carried by great majorities, that the Delegates ſhould agree to the determination of the Congreſs. This deciſion, however occaſioned much diſſention in the Province, and founded a conſiderable party in oppoſition to the preſent government.

In Maryland, the delegates were inſtructed by a majority of ſeven counties to four, to oppoſe the queſtion of Independency in the Congreſs; which they accordingly did; and having given their votes, withdrew totally from that aſſembly. But the horror of being ſecluded and abandoned, together with the reproaches of the others, and perhaps the dread of their reſentment, ſoon gave a new turn to their conduct, if not the diſpoſition of that province. The delegates were again inſtructed to return to the Congreſs, and to act there, as they thought beſt for the intereſt of their country. This compleated the union of the colonies in that meaſure.

July 4th. Declaration of Independence.

The fatal day at length arrived, which, (however the final conſequences may be) muſt be deeply regretted by every true friend to the Britiſh empire, when *thirteen Engliſh colonies in America, declared themſelves* FREE *and* INDEPENDENT *ſtates*;* abjured all allegiance to the Britiſh crown, and renounced

* *A* DECLARATION *by the* REPRESENTATIVES *of the UNITED STATES of* AMERICA, *in* GENERAL CONGRESS *aſſembled.* July 4, 1776.

WHEN in the courſe of human events it becomes neceſſary for one people to diſſolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to aſſume among the powers of the earth

nounced all political connection with this country. Such are the unhappy consequences of *civil contention*. Such the effects that 1776.

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earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of *Nature's God* intitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; and whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence indeed will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shewn that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed; but when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former system of government. The history of the present——of—— ——, is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations; all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these States. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and, when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless these people would relinquish the rights of representation in the legislature; a right inestimable in them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

He

1776. that may proceed from too great a jealouſy of power on the one ſide, or an ill-timed doubt of obedience on the other.

There

He has refuſed, for a long time after ſuch diſſolution, to cauſe others to be erected; whereby the legiſlative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exerciſe; the State remaining in the mean time expoſed to all the dangers of invaſion from without, and convulſions within.

He has endeavoured to prevent the population of theſe States; for that purpoſe obſtructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners, refuſing to paſs others to encourage their emigrations hither, and raiſing the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obſtructed the adminiſtration of juſtice, by refuſing his aſſent to laws for eſtabliſhing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their ſalaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and ſent hither ſwarms of officers to harraſs our people, and eat out their ſubſiſtence.

He has kept among us in times of Peace ſtanding armies, without the conſent of our legiſlatures.

He has affected to render the military independent of, and ſuperior to, the civil power.

He has combined with others to ſubject us to a juriſdiction foreign to our conſtitution, and unacknowledged by our laws, given his aſſent to their pretended acts of legiſlation:—For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:—For protecting them, by a mock trial, from puniſhment for any murders which they ſhould commit on the inhabitants of theſe States:—For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world:—For impoſing taxes on us without our conſent:—For depriving us, in many caſes, of the benefit of trial by jury:—For tranſporting us beyond ſeas to be tried for pretended offences:—For aboliſhing the free ſyſtem of Engliſh laws in a neighbouring province, eſtabliſhing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, ſo as to render it at once an example and fit inſtrument for introducing the ſame abſolute rule into theſe colonies:—For taking away our charters, aboliſhing our moſt valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the forms of our governments:—For ſuſpending our own legiſlatures, and declaring themſelves inveſted with power to legiſlate for us in all caſes whatſoever.

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war with us.

He has plundered our ſeas, ravaged our coaſts, burnt our towns, and deſtroyed the lives of our people.

He

There were three principal objects propoſed in the conduct of the Britiſh forces in the preſent campaign. The firſt was 1776.

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He is, at this time, tranſporting large armies of foreign mercenaries, to complete the works of death, deſolation, and tyranny, already begun with circumſtances of cruelty and perfidy ſcarcely paralleled in the moſt barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation.

He has conſtrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high ſeas, to bear arms againſt their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themſelves by their hands.

He has excited domeſtic inſurrections amongſt us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the mercileſs Indian ſavages, whoſe known rule of warfare is an undiſtinguiſhed deſtruction of all ages, ſexes, and conditions.

In every ſtage of theſe oppreſſions we have petitioned for redreſs, in the moſt humble terms; our repeated petitions have been anſwered only by repeated injuries. A Prince, whoſe character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in attention to our Britiſh brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts, by their legiſlature, to extend an unwarrantable juriſdiction over us; we have reminded them of the circumſtances of our emigration and ſettlement here; we have appealed to their native juſtice and magnanimity; and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred, to diſavow theſe uſurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correſpondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of juſtice and conſanguinity. We muſt therefore acquieſce in the neceſſity which denounces our ſeparation, and hold them, as we hold the reſt of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends.

We, therefore, the Repreſentatives of the United States of America, in General Congreſs aſſembled, appealing to the Supreme JUDGE of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name, and by the authority of the good people of theſe Colonies, ſolemnly publiſh and declare, that theſe United Colonies are, and of right ought to be FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES, and that they are abſolved from all allegiance to the Britiſh Crown, and that all political connection between them and the ſtate of Great-Britain is, and ought to be, totally diſſolved; and that, as free and independent States, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, eſtabliſh commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do. And for the ſupport of this Declaration,

with

1776. the relief of Quebec, and the redemption of Canada, which alſo included the ſubſequent invaſion of the back parts of the Colonies by the way of the lakes. The ſecond was the making a ſtrong impreſſion on the ſouthern colonies, which it was hoped would at leaſt have ſucceeded ſo far as to the recovery of one of them. The third was the grand expedition againſt the city and province of New-York.

Of the two collateral parts of this plan we have already ſeen the event, ſo far as the firſt was yet capable of being carried into execution. On the third, the greateſt hopes of ſucceſs were not unjuſtly founded. Much the better part of the province of New-York is incloſed in iſlands, which being long and narrow, were expoſed on all ſides to the hoſtilities of our fleets, and to the deſcents of our troops, with every advantage in their favour, whilſt they continued in a ſtate of enmity. When reduced, the protection of the ſhips of war would be as effectual in their preſervation, as their hoſtility had been in their reduction. The central ſituation of this Province afforded great advantages. The war could be carried on with equal facility either in Connecticut, and the Continent of New-York on the eaſtern ſide, or in New Jerſey, and from thence to Penſylvania on the weſtern; or it might be transferred to and from either at pleaſure. So that this poſition enabled the Britiſh commander to preſcribe the ſcene of action, and to quit it when he liked; while if the army was withdrawn from the field, he might by the means of the great North river, and the different channels between the iſlands and the main land, with his ſhips and detachments harraſs and ruin the adjoining countries; at the ſame time that the Provincials however powerful could make no attempt on the iſlands, that would not be attended with the greateſt diſadvantages, and liable to the moſt imminent danger. Another great object in view from this ſituation was, that if General Carleton could penetrate to Hudſon's or the great North river, General Howe might thereby totally cut off all communication between the northern and

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with a firm alliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other, our lives, our fortunes, and ſacred honour.

Signed by order, and in behalf of the Congreſs } JOHN HANCOCK, *Preſident.*

Atteſt. CHARLES THOMPSON, *Sec.*

ſouthern

ſouthern provinces. To crown theſe advantages, Long-Iſland which is very fertile in wheat and all other corn, and abounded with herds and flocks, was deemed almoſt equal in itſelf to the maintenance of an army. The inhabitants were alſo ſuppoſed to be in general well affected to the royal cauſe. 1776.

The forces under Lord and General Howe, with the nature of their commiſſions for reſtoring peace in the colonies.

The attainment of theſe great objects, and the conduct of the grand armament which was neceſſary to the purpoſe, were committed to Admiral Lord Howe, and his brother the General; men who ſtood high in the opinion and confidence of the nation, as well from their own merit and ſervices, as from the military character and bravery of the family. To this ſervice was allotted a very powerful army, conſiſting beſides the national forces, of about 13,000 Heſſians and Waldeckers. The whole force, if the different parts of which it was compoſed could have been united in the beginning of the campaign, it was ſuppoſed, would have amounted to about 35,000 men. It will be eaſily conceived by thoſe acquainted with military affairs, that all calculations of this nature, though founded upon the beſt official information, will far exceed even at a much nearer diſtance than America, the real effective number that can ever be brought to action. This force, when united, was, however, truly formidable, and ſuch as no part of the new world had ever ſeen before. Nor, was it, perhaps, ever exceeded by any army in Europe of an equal number, whether conſidered, with reſpect to the excellency of the troops, the abundant proviſion of all manner of military ſtores, and warlike materials, or the goodneſs and number of artillery of all ſorts with which it was provided. It was beſides ſupported by a very numerous fleet, particularly well adapted to the nature of the ſervice. Beſides their military powers the General and Admiral were appointed the commiſſioners under the late Act of Parliament, for reſtoring peace to the Colonies, and for granting pardon to ſuch as ſhould deſerve the Royal mercy.

The ſituation of the army at Halifax, and the long ſtay of above two months, which it was obliged to make there, ſtill waiting the arrival of ſome of the reinforcements from England to enable it to go upon ſervice, was neither pleaſing to the General nor comfortable to the men. The country was in no ſituation to afford them a ſufficient ſupply of proviſions or neceſſaries; nor was the place even capable of providing quarters on ſhore, for the private men, who were obliged to continue on board the ſhips during the whole of their ſtay. As the ſummer advanced, the General grew impatient at

1776. the delay, and was probably further urged by the ſcarcity of proviſions. He accordingly, without waiting for his brother, or the expected reinforcements, departed with Admiral Shuldham, and the fleet and army, from Halifax, about the 10th of June, and near the end of the month, arrived at Sandy Hook, a point of land that ſtands at the entrance into that confluence of ſounds, roads, creeks, and bays, which are formed by New-York, Staten, and Long Iſlands, the continent on either ſide, with the North and Rareton rivers.

G. *Howe*, with the army, leaves Halifax.

On their paſſage they were joined by ſix tranſports with Highland troops on board, who were ſeparated from ſeveral of their companions in the voyage. It appeared ſoon after, that ſome of the miſſing ſhips, with about 450 ſoldiers, and ſeveral officers, were taken by the American cruizers. The General found every approachable part of the iſland of New-York ſtrongly fortified, defended by a numerous artillery, and guarded by little leſs than an army. The extent of Long-Iſland did not admit of its being ſo ſtrongly fortified, or ſo well guarded; it was, however in a powerful ſtate of defence; had an encampment of conſiderable force on the end of the iſland near New-York, and ſeveral works thrown up on the moſt acceſſible parts of the coaſt, as well as at the ſtrongeſt internal paſſes.

Is joined by ſix tranſports with troops.

July 3d. They land at Staten Iſland, and are joined there by ſeveral loyaliſts.

Staten Iſland, being of leſs value and conſequence, was leſs attended to. The General landed on the iſland without oppoſition, to the great joy of thoſe of the inhabitants who had ſuffered for their loyalty; and the troops being cantoned in the villages received plenty of thoſe refreſhments which they ſo much wanted. He was met by Governor Tryon, with ſeveral well affected gentlemen who had taken refuge with him on board a ſhip, at Sandy Hook, who gave him a full account of the ſtate and diſpoſition of the Province, as well as of the ſtrength of the enemy. He had the ſatisfaction of being joined by about ſixty perſons from New-Jerſey, who came to take arms in the royal cauſe, and about 200 of the militia of the iſland were embodied for the ſame purpoſe; which afforded the pleaſing proſpect, that when the army was in force to march into the country and protect the royaliſts, ſuch numbers would join it, as would contribute not a little to bring the preſent troubles to a ſpeedy concluſion.

—— 14. Ld. *Howe* arrives at *Halifax*.

Lord Howe arrived at Halifax, about a fortnight after his brother's departure, from whence he proceeded to Staten-Iſland, where he arrived before the middle of July. His firſt act was to ſend aſhore, by a flag, a *Circular Letter* to the ſeveral

1776.

several late Governors of the Colonies, acquainting them with his civil and military powers, and desiring that they would publish, as generally as possible for the information of the people, a Declaration which accompanied the letter. In this piece he informed the people of the powers of which his brother and he were endued under the late act of parliament, of granting general or particular pardons to all those, who, in the tumult and disaster of the times, might have deviated from their just allegiance, and who were willing by a speedy return to their duty, to reap the benefits of the royal favour, and of declaring any colony, province, county, town, port, district, or place, to be at the peace of his Majesty; in which case, the penal provisions of that law would cease in their favour. It also promised that a due consideration should be had to the services of all persons who contributed to the restoration of the public tranquility.

Circular letter, sent by Ld. *Howe* to the *Continent.*

These papers being immediately forwarded by General Washington to the Congress, were as speedily published by them in all the news-papers, with a preface or comment of their own, in the form of a Resolution; that the publication was in order that the people of the united states might be informed of what nature are the commissioners, and what the terms, with the expectation of which the court of Great-Britain had endeavoured to amuse and disarm them; and that the few who still remained suspended by a hope founded either in the justice or moderation of that court, might now at length be convinced, that the valour alone of their country is to save its liberties.

Re-published by the Congress.

At and about the same time, different flags were sent a-shore by Lord Howe, accompanied by some of his officers, with a letter directed to George Washington, Esq; which that General refused to receive, as not being addressed with the title, and in the form, due to the rank which he held under the United States. The Congress highly applauded the dignity of this conduct in a public resolution passed for the purpose; by which they directed for the future, that none of their commanders should receive any letter or message from the enemy, but such as would be directed to them in the characters which they respectively sustained.

Letter to General *Washington*, refused.

At length, adjutant-General Paterson was sent to New-York by General Howe, with a letter addressed to George Washington, &c. &c. &c. That General received him with great politeness, and the usual ceremony of blindfolding, in passing through the fortifications, was dispensed with in his favour. The Adjutant regretted in the name of his principals,

Conference between *Adj. Gen. Paterson*, and *Gen. Washington.*

1776. pals, the difficulties which had ariſen with reſpect to addreſſing the letter; declaring their high eſteem for his perſon and character, and that they did not mean to derogate from the reſpect due to his rank; and that it was hoped the et cetera's would remove the impediments to their correſpondence. The general replied, that a letter directed to any perſon in a public character ſhould have ſome deſcription or indication of it, otherwiſe it would appear a mere private letter; that it was true the et cetera's implied every thing, but they alſo implied any thing; and that he ſhould abſolutely decline any letter directed to him as a private perſon, when it related to his public ſtation.

A long conference enſued on the ſubject of priſoners, and the complaints which were made on both ſides, particularly by the Congreſs, relative to the treatment they received. The Adjutant having obſerved that the commiſſioners were armed with great powers; that they would derive the greateſt pleaſure from effecting an accommodation; and that himſelf wiſhed to have that viſit conſidered as making the firſt advance towards that deſirable object; he received for anſwer, among other things, that by what had appeared, their powers were only to grant pardons; that thoſe who had committed no fault wanted no pardon; and that they themſelves were only defending what they deemed their indiſputable right. The Adjutant was received by General Waſhington in great military ſtate, and the utmoſt politeneſs was obſerved on both ſides.

Plots at *New-York* and *Albany*.

Some ſmall time previous to the arrival of the fleet and army, plots in favour of the royal cauſe were diſcovered in New-York and Albany, which were productive of much trouble. Some few executions took place, great numbers were confined, and many abandoning their houſes, under the operations of their fears, were purſued as outlaws, and enemies to their country. The eſtates of thoſe unfortunate people, againſt whom there were proofs, were ſeized.

Congreſs eſtabliſh new forms of government.

In the mean time, new forms of government, (under the uſual title of Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union, &c.*) were eſtabliſhed in all the colonies, they deeming the former Articles inſufficient to co-operate with their new ſyſtem of Independence. Theſe Articles, as well as the Declaration of Independence were publiſhed in all the colonies, and every

* The reader will ſee theſe Articles inſerted at large at the cloſe of this chapter.

where

where received and accompanied with the greateſt public teſtimonials of joy. This confidence and boldneſs in the midſt of ſo untried and dangerous a ſtruggle, and at the eve of ſo formidable an invaſion, ſhewed either great preſumption, a knowledge of internal ſtrength, or a certainty of foreign ſupport at a period which appeared alarming. 1776.

Additional forces from Great Britain arrive at New-York.

The firſt diviſion of Heſſians, with the Britiſh troops by whom they were accompanied, ſailed directly from England to Halifax, as Lord Howe had done, being ſtill ignorant of the general's departure from that place. By this means the month of Auguſt was conſiderably advanced before their arrival at New-York, and it was of courſe ſome days longer before any expedition of importance could be undertaken by the commiſſioners. In the mean time they were joined by Sir Peter Parker and General Clinton, with the ſquadron and forces for South Carolina, as well as by ſome regiments from Florida and the Weſt Indies.

All the forces being now arrived, except about one half of the Heſſians, who though on their way, were not ſpeedily expected, an attempt upon Long-Iſland was reſolved upon, as being more practicable, and therefore better fitted for the firſt eſſay than New-York, as affording a greater ſcope for the diſplay of military ſkill and experience, and as abounding with thoſe ſupplies which ſo great a body of men as were now aſſembled by ſea and land neceſſarily demanded.

Aug. 22. Army landed at Long-Iſland.

The neceſſary meaſures being taken by the fleet for covering the deſcent, the army was landed without oppoſition near Utrecht and Graveſend, on the ſouth-weſt end of the iſland, and not far from the Narrows where it approaches cloſeſt to Staten-Iſland. General Putnam was at that time with a ſtrong force encamped at Brookland or Brooklyn, at a few miles diſtance, on the North coaſt, where his works covered the breadth of a ſmall Peninſula, having what is called the Eaſt River, which ſeparated him from New-York on his left; a marſh, which extended to Gowan's Cove, on his right; with the bay and Governor's Iſland to his back. The armies were ſeparated by a range of hills covered with wood, which interſect the country from eaſt, to weſt, and are, in that part called the Heights of Guana. The direct road to the enemy lay through a village called Flat Buſh, where the hills commenced, and near which was one of the moſt important paſſes. As the army advanced, the north coaſt was to the left, the ſouth on the right, and Flat Buſh was nearly in the center between both. The Iſland in that part is kept narrow by Jamaica bay, on the right, but ſoon widens.

1776. widens. General Putnam had detached a conſiderable part of his army to occupy the woody hills, and poſſeſs the paſſes; and if the commanders upon this ſervice had been ſkilful and vigilant, they could not have been eaſily paſſed.

Poſition of the Provincial and Britiſh armies, previous to the attack on that Iſland.

Lord Cornwallis puſhed on immediately, with the reſerve, and ſome other troops, to Flat Buſh, where finding the enemy in poſſeſſion of the paſs, he complied with his orders in making no attempt upon it. When the whole army was landed, the Heſſians, under General Heiſter, compoſed the center at Flat Buſh; Major General Grant commanded the left wing, which extended to the coaſt; and the principal army, containing much the greater part of the Britiſh forces, under the command of General Clinton, Earl Percy, and Lord Cornwallis, turned ſhort to the right, and approached the oppoſite coaſt at Flat Land.

Every thing being prepared for forcing the hills, and advancing towards the enemies lines, General Clinton, at the head of the van of the army, conſiſting of the light infantry, grenadiers, light horſe, reſerve under Lord Cornwallis, and other corps with fourteen field pieces, began as ſoon as it was dark on the night of the 26th, to move from Flat Land, and paſſing through that part of the country called the New Lots, arrived upon the road which croſſes the hills from Bedford to Jamaica, where turning to the left towards the former of theſe places, they ſeized a paſs of the utmoſt importance, which through ſome unaccountable and fatal neglect of the enemy's Generals, was left unguarded. The main body under Lord Percy with ten field pieces, followed the van at a moderate diſtance, and the way being thus happily open, the whole army paſſed the hills without noiſe or impediment, and deſcended by the town of Bedford into the level country which lay between them and Putnam's lines.

Aug. 27. Attack commences.

The engagement was begun early in the morning by the Heſſians at Flat Buſh, and by General Grant on the coaſt, and a warm cannonade, with a briſk fire of ſmall arms, was eagerly ſupported on both ſides for ſome hours. In the mean time, the ſhips made ſeveral motions on the left, and attacked a battery on Red Hook, not only to diſtract the right of the enemy, who were engaged with General Grant, but to call off their attention totally from the left and rear, where all their danger lay. Thoſe who oppoſed the Heſſians in the left were the firſt apprized of the march of the Britiſh army, and of their own danger. They accordingly retreated in large bodies, and in tolerable order, with their artillery, in order to recover their camp, but ſoon found themſelves

ſelves intercepted by the King's troops, who furiouſly attacked, and drove them back into the woods. There they again met the Heſſians, and were alternately chaſed and intercepted by the light infantry and dragoons. In theſe deſperate circumſtances, ſome of the regiments, overpowered and outnumbered as they were, forced their way to the lines, thro' all the difficulties and dangers that oppoſed and ſurrounded them. Others, perhaps not leſs brave, periſhed in the attempt. Some kept the woods and eſcaped; others, leſs fortunate, were loſt under the ſame protection. The nature of the country, and variety of the ground, occaſioned a continuance and extentoin of ſmall engagements, purſuits, and ſlaughter, which laſted for many hours. 1776.

Never was any body of men more effectually entrapped: their right, which was engaged with General Grant on the coaſt, were ſo late in their knowledge of what was paſſing, that they were intercepted in their retreat by ſome of the Britiſh troops, who, beſides turning the hills on their left, had in that morning traverſed the whole extent of country in their rear. Such of theſe as did not chuſe to take to the woods, which were the greater number, were obliged to throw themſelves into the marſh at Gowan's Cove, which we have already taken notice of, where many were drowned, and others periſhed more miſerably in the mud: a conſiderable number, however, made their eſcape this way to the lines, though they were thinned in every part of the courſe by the fire of the purſuers. Americans defeated with great ſlaughter

Their loſs was repreſented as exceeding 3000 men, including about 1000 who were taken priſoners. Almoſt a whole regiment from Maryland, conſiſting altogether of young men of the beſt families in the country, was cut to pieces. Undoubtedly their loſs muſt have been great, though they do not acknowledge any ſuch number in their accounts, as that ſpecified in the underneath return, * tranſmitted to government by General Howe. An account of the killed and wound'd, with the captures of both armies.

This

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* *Return of Priſoners taken on* Long-Iſland, 27th Auguſt, 1776.

COMMISSIONED OFFICERS.

Three Generals	Three Colonels.	
Major Gen. Sullivan,	Penſilvania rifle regiment,	1
Brig. Gen. Lord Stirling,	——— muſketeers,	1
Brig. Gen. Udell.	New Jerſey militia,	1

Four

1776. This action however broke their ſpirits exceedingly. They not only loſt a number of their beſt and braveſt men, but the ſurvivors

Brought over -	6		49
Four Lieut. Colonels.		17th Continental reg.	6
Penſilvania rifle regiment.	1	Delaware battalion.	2
——— militia	2	1ſt Bat. New York Conti.	5
17th Continental regiment	1	11th Bat. Continental	1
Three Majors.		New Jerſey Militia	1
Penſilvania Militia	1	1ſt Bat. Maryland indep.	2
17th Continental regiment	1	Long-Iſland militia.	2
22d ditto.	1	Train of artillery	1
Eighteen Captains.		Maryland provincials	5
Penſilvania 1ſt reg.	2	Eleven Enſigns.	
——— muſketeers	4	Penſilvania muſketeers	4
——— militia	5	17th Continental reg.	5
17th Continental reg.	4	Maryland Provincials	2
Train of artillery	1	STAFF.	
Maryland Provincials	2	Adjutant	1
Forty-three Lieutenants.		Surgeons	3
Provincial rifle reg.	11	Volunteers	2
Penſilvania muſketeers	1	Privates	1006
——— militia	6		1097
	49	(Signed) JOS. LORING.	

Return of BRASS and IRON Ordnance, taken in this engagement.

BRASS.

1 Five-and-half-inch howitzer
4 Six-pounders
1 Three-pounder.

IRON.

6 Thirty-two-pounders.
1 Twenty-four-pounder
4 Eighteen-pounders
2 Twelve-pounders
2 Nine-pounders
8 Six-pounders
3 Three-pounders.

Total of Ordnance, 32 pieces.

A quantity of ſhot, ſhells, ammunition, intrenching tools, ſmall arms, a number of long pikes, ammunition carts, and many other articles not aſcertained.

(Signed) W. HOWE.

Return of the killed, wounded, and miſſing of his Majeſty's forces.

KILLED.

Cap. Sir A Murray, 17th reg.
Lieut. Col. Grant, 40th
Cap. Nelſon, 52d
Cap. Logan, 2d reg marines.
Second Lieut. Lovell, roy. artil.
3 Serjeants
53 Rank and File

WOUNDED.

Lieut. Morgan, 17th reg.
Capt. Grove, 23d ditto
Lieut. Crammond, 42d ditto.
Lieut. Mair, 43d ditto.
Lieut. Weir, of ditto
Cap. Brown, 44th ditto.
Cap. Kennedy of ditto.

Lieut.

ſurvivors loſt that hope of ſucceſs, and confidence in their own proweſs, which are ſo eſſential to victory. New ſoldiers, in the fulneſs of ſpirits and pride of bodily ſtrength, can ſcarcely conceive any advantage over them, which the old can derive from diſcipline and a knowledge of their buſineſs. And if they are well commanded, and ſkilfully led to action in this temper, ſo that their opponents are deprived of an opportunity of turning theſe advantages to account, they will do wonderful execution: for not being yet capable of thoroughly comprehending danger, nor having known by experience the pain and vexation of wounds, they are often more daring, adventurous, and violent than veterans. But if, as in the preſent inſtance, they find courage, and ſtrength totally uſeleſs; that when they are making the greateſt, and, as they think, moſt effectual efforts they find them all thrown away, and that they are ſurrounded, overpowered, and deſtroyed, by means which they cannot underſtand, they withdraw all due confidence from thoſe things on which they had before placed too much, and aſcribe an irreſiſtible power to military ſkill and diſcipline, which they do not really poſſeſs. Thus they abandon their natural ſtrength, and it will be ſome time before they have confidence enough in their new knowledge to call it effectually into action. 1776.

Great errors ſeem to have been committed on the ſide of the provincial commanders. They ſay, that a body of not more than four or five thouſand men was ſurrounded by the whole force of the Britiſh army. They endeavour to palliate their miſconduct in getting into that ſituation by repreſenting, that they had no idea that more than about that number of Britiſh troops were landed on the iſland. It does appear as if no more had landed in the firſt embarkation, but either from a

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Lieut. Brown of ditto.
Lieut. col. Monckton, 45th do.
Lieut. Powell, 49th ditto,
Lieut. Addiſon, 52d ditto.
Lieut. Nugent, 1ſt reg. marines.
11 Serjeants
3 Drummers
231 Rank and File.

MISSING.

Lt. Ragg, 2d reg. mar. priſoner.
1 Serjeant,
29 Rank and File.
Total loſs of Britiſh troops 347.

Heſſian Troops.

Major Paoli. } wounded.
Cap. O'Reilly. }
Lieu. Donop. }
23 Rank & file. }
2 Rank and file, killed.

Total loſs of Heſſians, 28.

(Signed)

W. HOWE.

change

1776. change or concealment of plan, very great bodies were afterwards embarked and paſſed. The provincials too, as uſual with men in misfortunes, hinted treachery in ſome of thoſe who were employed to diſcover the motions of their enemy, and to guard the paſſes, by the occupying of which they had been ſurrounded.

Nothing could exceed the ſpirit and alacrity ſhewn by all the different corps of which the Britiſh army was compoſed in this action. The ardour of the ſoldiers was ſo great, that it was with difficulty the Generals could call them off from attacking the enemy's lines, in the eagerneſs of their purſuit after the fugitives. Nor is it improbable, in that temper, that they would have carried every thing before them. It may be ſuppoſed that the emulation between the foreign troops and the Britiſh did not leſſen the deſire of being diſtinguiſhed on either ſide in this their firſt action. Too much praiſe cannot be given to the ability which planned this enterprize, nor to the promptneſs and exactitude with which the ſeveral Generals carried their reſpective parts of it into execution.

Three of the provincial commanders; viz. Major Gen. Sullivan, with the Brigadiers General Lord Stirling* and Udell, and 10 other field officers, were among the priſoners. The loſs on the ſide of the Britiſh and Heſſians was very trifling, being under 380 in killed and wounded; of which the latter did not compoſe one-fifth. The victorious army encamped in the front of the enemy's works on that evening, and on the 28th, at night, broke ground in form at 600 yards diſtance from a redoubt which covered the enemy's left.

General

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* As the name of the abovementioned Lord Stirling is not in the liſt either of Engliſh, Scotch, or Iriſh peers, the following account of him may be acceptable to our readers. His father, Mr. Alexander, (for that is his real name) went over to America many years ago, where he acquired a conſiderable eſtate, and where the preſent Lord Stirling was, it is believed, born. Upon the death of Lord Stirling, a Scotch Peer, whoſe name was Alexander, either the late or the preſent Mr. Alexander, came over to England, and laid claim to the title; when the cauſe was tried by the Houſe of Lords, and the claim rejected; the Lords forbidding him to aſſume the title on pain of being led round Weſtminſter-Hall, labelled as an impoſtor: but ever ſince, by the courteſy of his countrymen, he has been diſtinguiſhed by the title of Lord Stirling. The firſt Lord Stirling obtained a grant of Long-Iſland; was the firſt that ſettled it with Britiſh inhabitants; and was at a great expence in ſupporting them. He died in 1640.

* Reader this is a Government Author he's not a Whig one

1776.

General Waſhington paſſed over from New York during the engagement, and is ſaid to have burſt into a poignant exclamation of grief when he beheld the inextricable deſtruction in which ſome of his beſt troops were involved. Nothing was now left, but to preſerve the remainder of the army on Long-Iſland. He knew that the ſuperiour power of the royal artillery would ſoon ſilence their batteries, and that if their lines were forced, which, in the preſent depreſſion of ſpirits, and comparative weakneſs in number as well as diſcipline, there was little hope of preventing, they muſt all be killed or taken. If he attempted to ſtrengthen them by reinforcements from New York, he hazarded the loſs of that iſland, which was already menaced on every ſide, and kept in continual alarm and apprehenſion by the fleet. A danger not leſs than any other was ſtill to be conſidered; the men of war only waited for a fair wind to enter and take poſſeſſion of the Eaſt river, which would have totally cut off all communication between the iſlands. In this ſituation, no hope remained but in a retreat; a matter of no ſmall difficulty and danger, under the eye of ſo vigilant an enemy, and with ſo powerful an army, fluſhed with ſucceſs, cloſe to their works. This arduous taſk was, however, undertaken, and carried into execution with great ability by General Waſhington. In the night of the 29th, their troops were withdrawn from the camp and their baggage, ſtores, and part of their artillery, were conveyed to the water-ſide, embarked, and paſſed over a long ferry to New-York, with ſuch wonderful ſilence and order, that our army did not perceive the leaſt motion, and were ſurpriſed in the morning at finding the lines abandoned, and ſeeing the laſt of the rear guard (or, as they ſay, a party which had returned to carry off ſome ſtores that were left behind) in their boats, and out of danger. Thoſe who were beſt acquainted with the difficulty, embarraſſment, noiſe, and tumult, which attend even by day, and no enemy at hand, a movement of this nature with ſeveral thouſand men, will be the firſt to acknowledge, that this retreat ſhould hold a high place among military tranſactions.

Retire ſilently from their camp, and quit the iſland.

Soon after the retreat from Long-Iſland, General Sullivan was ſent upon parole with a meſſage from Lord Howe to the Congreſs. In this he ſtated, that though he could not at preſent treat with that aſſembly as ſuch, yet he was very deſirous of having a conference with ſome of their members, whom he would conſider for the preſent only as private gentlemen, and would himſelf meet them at ſuch place as they ſhould appoint. He ſaid, that he had in conjunction with the

Gen. Sullivan ſent upon parole with a meſſage from L. Howe to the Congreſs

1776. the General, full powers to compromiſe the diſpute between Great Britain and America, upon terms advantageous to both, the obtaining of which had detained him near two months, and prevented his arrival before the *Declaration of Independency* took place. That he wiſhed a compact might be ſettled at this time, when no deciſive blow was ſtruck, and neither party could ſay they were compelled to enter into the agreement. That if the Congreſs were diſpoſed to treat, many things which they had not yet aſked, might and ought to be granted to them; and that if upon the conference any probable ground of an accommodation appeared, the authority of Congreſs muſt be afterwards acknowledged, or the compact could not be complete.

The Congreſs returned for anſwer, that being the repreſentatives of the Free and Independent States of America, they could not with propriety ſend any of their members to confer with him in their private characters; but that ever deſirous of eſtabliſhing peace on reaſonable terms, they would ſend a committee of their body to know whether he had any power to treat with perſons authoriſed by Congreſs for that purpoſe, in behalf of America, and what that authority was, and to hear ſuch propoſitions as he ſhould think fit to make reſpecting the ſame.

Fruitleſs conference between his Lordſhip and a Committee of the Congreſs.

Dr. Franklin, Mr. Adams, and Mr. Rutledge, being appointed as a committee upon this occaſion, waited accordingly upon Lord Howe in Staten-Iſland. The committee ſum up the account of this conference, which they laid before the Congreſs in the following words: "Upon the whole, it did not appear to your committee, that his Lordſhip's commiſſion contained any other authority of importance than what is contained in the Act of Parliament, viz. That of granting pardons, with ſuch exceptions as the Commiſſioners ſhall think proper to make, and of declaring America, or any part of it, to be in the King's peace upon ſubmiſſion. For, as to the power of enquiring into the ſtate of America, which his Lordſhip mentioned to us, and of conferring and conſulting with any perſon the Commiſſioners might think proper, and repreſenting the reſult of ſuch converſations to the miniſtry, (who provided the Colonies would ſubject themſelves) might after all, or might not, at their pleaſure, make any alterations in the former inſtructions to Governors, or propoſe in Parliament any amendment of the acts complained of, we apprehend any expectation from the effect of ſuch a power would have been too uncer-

tain

tain and precarious to be relied on by America, had ſhe ſtill continued in her ſtate of dependence." 1776.

In this manner the hopes of negociation by the commiſſioners ended. They endeavoured to make amends for their failure in their civil capacity by the vigour of their military operations. The royal army being now divided from the iſland of New-York only by the Eaſt river were impatient to paſs that narrow boundary. They poſted themſelves along the coaſt wherever they could ſee or front the enemy, and erected batteries to anſwer, if not to ſilence theirs. A fleet, conſiſting of conſiderably more than 300 ſail, including tranſports, covered the face of the waters, while the ſhips of war, hovering round the iſland, threatened deſtruction to every part, and were continually engaged with one or the other of the batteries by which it was ſurrounded. The ſmall iſlands between the oppoſite ſhores were perpetual objects of conteſt, until, by dint of well ſerved artillery, the aid of the ſhips and the intrepidity of the troops, they ſecured thoſe which were more neceſſary for their future operations. Thus, an almoſt conſtant cannonade was kept up for many days, and the troops who had ſo lately eſcaped from the moſt imminent danger, had little time to quiet their apprehenſions.

Deſcent on York Iſland.

Every thing being at length prepared for a deſcent, ſeveral movements were made by the ſhips of war in the North-River, in order to draw the attention of the enemy to that ſide of the iſland. Other parts ſeemed equally threatened, and increaſed the uncertainty of the real objects of the attack. The ſeizure of the iſland of Montrefor, near Hell-gate, and erecting a battery on it to ſilence one which the Provincials had at Horen's Hook, ſeemed to indicate a deſign of landing in that part which was near the centre of New York Iſland.

Sep. 15th City of *New-York* taken.

While the provincials were in this ſtate of uncertainty, the firſt diviſion of the army, under the command of General Clinton, with Earl Cornwallis, Major General Vaughan, Brigadier General Leſlie, and the Heſſian Colonel Donop, embarked at the head of Newtown bay, which runs pretty deep into Long-Iſland, and where they were out of all view of the enemy. Being covered by five ſhips of war upon their entrance into the river, they proceeded to Kepp's Bay, about three miles North of New York, where being leſs expected than in ſome other places, the preparation for defence was not ſo great. The works, however, were not inconſiderable, nor deſtitute of troops, but the fire from the ſhips was ſo inceſſant

1776. ceſſant, and ſo well conducted, that they were ſoon abandoned, and the army landed without oppoſition.

The enemy immediately abandoned the city of New York, with their other poſts in that part of the iſland, and retired towards the north end, where their principal ſtrength lay.—They were obliged to leave their artillery, which was conſiderable, and their military ſtores, (of which, except powder, there were plenty) behind. They ſuſtained ſome loſs in ſlain, and a greater in priſoners, as well in the retreat, as in the ſubſequent ſkirmiſhes which took place during the day. The ſore remembrance of their late loſs was ſtrongly viſible in every part of their conduct, and their own accounts acknowledged, that ſeveral of their regiments behaved ill.

A brigade of the Britiſh army having taken poſſeſſion of New York, the reſt encamped not far from the centre of the iſland, with the right at Horen's Hook, on the Eaſt river, and the left at the North river, near Bloomingdale; thus occupying the extent of the iſland from ſhore to ſhore, which though about 16 miles in length, is not above one in breadth. The enemy was very ſtrong in the north of the iſland, where they had great works erected, particularly at Kingſbridge, by which their communication with the continent of New-York was kept open, where the works were ſo conſiderable on both ſides of the paſſage, that in their preſent ſtate of force, they ſeemed to defy all attempts on either. Their neareſt encampment was on the heights of Harlem, at the diſtance of about a mile and half. M'Gowan's paſs, and the ſtrong grounds called Morris's heights, lay between them and Kingſbridge, and were defenſible againſt a very ſuperior force. In this ſituation of both armies, frequent ſkirmiſhes of courſe happened, and it was found by degrees that their late apprehenſions began to wear away.

Sep. 20, New-York ſet on fire, and almoſt burnt.

General Howe had not been many days in poſſeſſion of New York, when ſome incendiaries, who probably had ſtayed behind and concealed themſelves for that purpoſe, being determined, if poſſible, to prevent its being of any benefit to the conqueror, prepared combuſtibles with great art and ingenuity, and taking the advantage of dry weather and a briſk wind, ſet fire to the city about midnight, in ſeveral places at the ſame time. Thus near a third of their beautiful city was reduced to aſhes, and nothing leſs than the courage and activity of the troops, as well as of the ſailors who were diſpatched from the fleet, could have preſerved any part of the remainder. Many of the ~~wretches~~ who were, as it is ſaid,

ſaid, concerned in this atrocious buſineſs, being detected, experienced a ſummary juſtice, and were precipitated by the fury of the ſoldiers into thoſe flames which they had themſelves kindled.

The General perceiving that no attempt could be made on the enemy upon the ſide of New York, which would not be attended with great danger, without affording any equal proſpect of ſucceſs, determined at length upon a plan of operation, which would either oblige them to quit their preſent ſtrong ſituation, or render their perſeverance in holding it extremely dangerous. For this purpoſe the greater part of the army being embarked in flat boats and other ſmall craft proper for the ſervice, paſſed ſucceſsfully through the dangerous navigation of Hell-gate, which forms a communication between the Eaſt river and the Sound, and landed at Frog's-Neck, near the town of Weſt Cheſter, which lies on that part of the continent belonging to New York, upon the ſide of Connecticut.

Army paſſes through the dangerous navigation called *Hell-gate*, Oct. 12th Land at Frog's Neck.

Earl Percy, with two brigades of Britiſh troops, and one of Heſſian, continued in the lines near Harlem to cover New-York. Though this movement was highly judicious in the preſent critical ſtate of things, it ſeems as if it would have been extremely dangerous if General Waſhington had commanded a veteran army on whoſe performance he could rely, and that the corps under Lord Percy would in that caſe have been in great danger. It is, however, to be obſerved, that the powerful fleet which ſurrounded that narrow iſland, would have afforded ſhelter and protection in almoſt any ſituation to which they could have been reduced. This fleet was of infinite ſervice in all the operations of the campaign. In this the inferiority of the provincials was moſt felt, being totally deſtitute of any force of that nature.

The army was detained for ſome days at Frog's Neck, waiting for the arrival of the proviſions and ſtores, and of a reinforcement which was drawn from Staten Iſland. They then proceeded through Pelham's Manor to New Rochelle, which lies on the coaſt of the Sound, as that channel is called, which ſeparates the continent from Long-Iſland. At this place they were joined to a greater part of a regiment of light horſe from Ireland, one of the tranſports having been taken in the paſſage. They were alſo joined by a ſecond diviſion of Heſſians under General Knyphauſen, with a regiment of Waldeckers, both of which had arrived at New York ſince the departure of the army from thence.

1776. The first object of this expedition was to cut off the communication between Washington and the Eastern Colonies; and then, if this measure did not bring him to an engagement, to enclose him on all sides in his fastnesses on the North end of York-Island. The King's troops were now masters of the lower road to Connecticut and Boston; but to gain the upper it was necessary to advance to the high grounds called the White Plains; a rough, stony, and mountainous tract; which, however, is only part of the ascent, to a country still higher, rougher, and more difficult. Upon the departure of the army to the higher country, it was deemed necessary to leave the second division of Hessians, with the Waldeck regiment, at New Rochelle, as well to preserve the communications, as to secure the supplies and provisions and necessaries that were to arrive at that port. Indeed the army was now so powerful, that it was enabled to support every service.

General Washington was not inattentive to the danger of his situation. He saw, that if he continued where he was, he would at length be compelled to commit the whole fortune of the war, and the safety of all the Colonies to the hazard of a general engagement; a decision, of which he had every cause to apprehend the event, and in which a defeat would be final, as there could scarcely be a possibility of retreat. His army likewise, which had been disheartened by their late misfortunes, was then much reduced by sickness, which the severity of the services, indifferent quarters, insufficient cloathing, the want of salt and other necessaries, joined to a slovenliness generally prevalent in America, had rendered general, and very fatal in his camp.

A grand movement was accordingly made, by which the army was formed into a line of small, detached, and entrenched camps, which occupied every height and strong ground from Valentine's Hill not far from Kingsbridge, on the right, to the White Plains, and the upper road to Connecticut, on the left. In this position they faced the whole line of march of the King's troops at a moderate distance, the deep river Brunx covering their front; and the North river at some distance in their rear, whilst the open ground to the last afforded a secure passage for their stores and baggage to the upper country. A garrison was left for the protection of Fort Washington, the lines of Harlem and Kingsbridge.

In this situation of the enemy, General Howe thought it ne-

neceſſary to proceed with great circumſpection. The progreſs was ſlow, the march of the army cloſe, the encampments compact, and well guarded with artillery, and the moſt ſoldier-like caution uſed in every reſpect. This did not reſtrain the enemy from ſending parties over the Brunx to impede their march, which occaſioned ſeveral ſkirmiſhes, in which the royal army were generally ſucceſsful. Upon the approach of the army to the White Plains, the enemy quitted their detached camps along the Brunx, and joining their left, took a ſtrong ground of encampment before the Britiſh on the former. 1776.

Every thing being prepared for bringing the enemy to action, the army marched early in the morning in two columns towards the White Plains, the left being commanded by General Heiſter. Before noon, all the enemies advanced parties being driven back to their works by the Light Infantry and Heſſian Chaſſeurs, the army formed, with the right upon the road from Marmoroneck, at about a mile's diſtance from their center, and the left to the Brunx, at about the ſame diſtance from the right flank of their intrenchments. Sep. 28. Skirmiſh at the White-Plain.

A body of the enemy poſſeſſed an advantageous ground, that was ſeparated from the right flank by the Brunx, and which alſo by its windings, covered that corps in front from the left of our army. As this poſt would have been of great conſequence in attacking that flank of the entrenchments, Brigadier General Leſlie, with the ſecond brigade of Britiſh troops, the Heſſian grenadiers under Colonel Donop, and a battalion of that corps, were ordered to diſlodge the enemy. Previous to their attack, Colonel Ralle, who commanded a brigade of the Heſſians on the left, had paſſed the Brunx, and gained a poſt, which enabled him to annoy the enemies flank, while they were engaged with the other forces in front.

Though the paſſage of the river was difficult, it was performed with the greateſt ſpirit, and the 28th, and 35th regiments, being the firſt that paſſed, formed with the greateſt ſteadineſs, under the enemies fire on the oppoſite ſide; they then aſcended a ſteep hill, in defiance of all oppoſition, and puſhing on the enemy, ſoon routed, and drove them from their works. No leſs alacrity was ſhewn by the other troops in ſupporting theſe two regiments. The gaining of this important poſt took up a conſiderable time, which was prolonged by the enemy's ſtill ſupporting a broken and ſcattered engagement in defence of the adjoining walls and hedges. In the evening, the Heſſian grenadiers were ordered

1776. forward upon the heights within cannon ſhot of the entrenchments, the 2d brigade of Britiſh formed in their rear, and the two Heſſian brigades, on the left of the ſecond. The right and center of the army did not remove from the ground upon which they had formed. In that poſition the whole army lay upon their arms during the night, with a full intention and in the higheſt expectation, of attacking the enemy's camp the next morning.

It was perceived in the morning that the enemy had drawn back their encampment in the night, and had greatly ſtrengthened their lines by additional works. Upon this account the attack was deferred, and it was thought neceſſary to wait for the arrival of the 4th brigade, and of two battalions of the 6th, which had been left with Lord Percy at New York. Upon the arrival of theſe troops, the neceſſary diſpoſitions were made in the evening, for attacking the enemy early on the laſt of October; but an extreme wet night and morning prevented this deſign from being carried into execution.

In the mean time, General Waſhington had not the leaſt intention of venturing an engagement, whilſt there was a poſſibility of its being avoided. He knew that delay was in ſome ſort victory to him. That ſmall actions, which could not in the leaſt affect the public ſafety, would more effectually train his men to ſervice, and inure them to danger, than a general action, which might in one day decide their own, and the fate of America. It muſt be acknowledged, that in the courſe of this campaign, and more particularly in this part of it, he fully performed the part of no mean commander.

The American accounts ſay, that upon our covering four or five batteries with a powerful artillery, preparatory to an attack, together with the General's knowledge that by turning his camp, the Britiſh might become poſſeſſed of hills at his back which totally commanded it, he found it neceſſary to change his poſition. He accordingly quitted his camp on the night of the 1ſt of November, and took higher grounds towards the North Caſtle diſtrict, having firſt ſet fire to the town or village of White Plains, as well as to all the houſes and forges near the lines. The Britiſh army on the text day took poſſeſſion of their entrenchment.

General Howe ſeeing that the enemy could not be enticed to an engagement, and that the nature of the country did not admit of their being forced to it, determined not to loſe time in a fruitleſs purſuit, and to take this opportunity of driving them out of their ſtrong holds in York Iſland; an operation which their army could not now poſſibly prevent. For this purpoſe,

A LIST of the killed and wounded, and thoſe made Priſoners or miſſing, of His Majeſty's Forces, under the command of Lt. Col. SMITH, of the 10th Reg. Maj. PITCAIRN of the Marines, and the brigade under Lord PERCY.

At the Battles of Lexington and Concord, April 19th. 1775.

*Return of the commiſſioned, and Non-commiſſioned Officers, Drummers, Rank and File, killed and wounded, priſoners, and miſſing, on the 19th April, 1775.**

4th (or King's own Regiment)

Lieutenant [illegible]ht, *killed.* Lieut. Gould, *wounded* and *priſoner.* Serjeants, 1 Drummer, *wounded.* 7 rank [illegible]e, *killed.* 21 *wounded,* 8 *miſſing.*

5th. { Lieut. Thomas Baker, Lieut. William Cox. Lt. Tho. Hawkihaw. } *wounded.*

[illegible]rank and file *killed.* 15 *wounded.* 1 *miſſing.*

[illegible]h Reg. { Lt. Col. Francis Smith, Cap Lawrence Parſons, Lieut. Wald. Kelly, Enſign Jeremiah Liſter. } *wounded.*

1 rank and file *killed.* 13 *wounded.* 1 *miſſing.*

18th Reg. 1 rank and file *killed,* 4 *wounded.* 1 *miſſing.*

23d Reg. Lt. Col. Bery Bernard, *wounded.* 4 rank and file *killed,* 26 *wounded,* 6 *miſſing.*

38th Reg. Lt. William Sutherland *wounded,* 1 Serj. *wounded.* 4 rank and file *killed.* 11 *wounded.*

43d Reg. Lieut. Hull *wounded* and *priſoner.* 4 rank and file *killed,* 5 *wounded.* 2 *miſſing.*

[illegible]7th Reg. { Lt. Donald M'Cloud, Enſign Henry Baldwin, } *wounded.*

1 Serjeant [illegible] rank and file *killed.* 21 *wounded.*

52d Reg. 1 Serjeant *miſſing.* 3 rank and file *killed.* 2 *wounded.*

59th Reg. 3 rank and file *killed.* 3 *wounded.*

MARINES. { Captain Sonter, 2d Lt. M'Donald, } *wounded.*

Second Lieut. Iſaac Potter, *miſſing.* 1 ſerjeant *killed.* 2 *wounded.* 1 *miſſing.* 1 drummer *killed.* 25 rank and file *killed.* 36 *wounded.* 5 *miſſing.*

TOTAL.

1 Lieutenant, *killed.*
2 Lieut. Colonels, 2 Captains, 9 Lieutenants } *wounded.*
1 Lieut *miſſing.*
2 Enſigns *wounded.*
1 Serjeant *killed.* 7 *wounded.* 2 *miſſing.* 1 drummer *killed,* 1 *wounded.* 62 rank and file *killed.* 157 *wounded.* 24 *miſſing.*

N. B. Lieut. Iſaac Potter reported to be wounded and taken priſoner.

Signed, THO. GAGE

* See page 73.

ENGLISH 1 JUIN MUSEUM

A LIST of the killed and wounded, of His Majesty's forces at the engagement of Bunker's-hill.

JUNE 17th, 1775.

Return of the officers, non-commission officers, and privates, killed and wounded, of his Majesty's troops, at the attack of the redoubts and intrenchments on the heights of Charles-Town. June 17th, 1775. *

Royal Regiment, Artillery, Capts. Huddleton and Lemoin, lieut. Shuttleworth, 1 serjeant, 8 rank and file, wounded.

4th, Foot. Captain Balfour, Captain West, lieut. Barron, lieut. Brown wounded. 1 Serjeant, 13 rank and file killed. 1 serjeant, 1 drummer and fifer, 29 rank and file wounded.

5th, Capt. Downs killed. Capts. Harris, Jackson, Marsden, lieutenants M'Clintock and Crocker, ensigns Charleton and Ballaguire, wounded. 22 rank and file, killed. 10 serjeants, 2 drummers and fifers, 116 rank and file, wounded.

10th, Capts. Parsons and Fitzgerald, lieuts. Pettigrew, Verner, Hamilton, and Kelly, woupded. 2 serjeants, 5 rank and file killed. 1 drummer and fifer, 39 rank and file, wounded.

18th, Lieut. Richardson, wounded. 3 rank and file, killed. 7 rank and file, wounded.

22d. Lieut. Colonel Abercromby, killed.

23d, Captain Blakeney, lieuts. Beckwith, Cochrane, Lenthall, wounded. 2 serjeants, 1 drummer, 11 rank and file, killed. 2 serjeants, 1 drummer and fifer, 35 rank and file, wounded.

35th, Lieut. Baird, killed. Capts. Drew and Lyon, lieuts. Massy and Campbell, wounded. 18 rank and file, killed. 3 serjeants, 2 drummers, 41 rank and file wounded.

38th, Lieut. Dutton, killed. Capts. Coker, and Boyd, lieuts. Chrilie, House and Myres, ensigns Serjeant and Sweney, quarter master Mitchell, wounded. 2 serjeants, 23 rank ard file, killed. 4 serjeants, 1 drummer and fifer, 69 rank and file, wounded.

43d. Major Spendlove, capt. M'Kenzie, lieuts. Robinson and Dalrymple, wounded. 2 serjeants, 20 rank and file killed. 3 serjeants, 2 Drummers and fifers, 77 rank and file, wounded.

47th. Maj. Smelt, capts. Craig, England, and Alcock, lieut. England, wounded. Lieut. Hilliard, lieut. Gould, killed. 1 serjeant, 15 rank and file, killed. 3 serjeants 47 rank and file, wounded.

52d, Major Williams, killed. Capts. Addison, Smith Davison, and lieut. Higgins, killed. Captain Nelson, lieuts. Thompson and Crawford, ensigns Chetwynd and Græme, wounded. 1 serjeant, 20 rank and file, killed. 7 serjeants, 73 rank and file, wounded.

59th. Lieut. Haynes, wounded. 6 rank and file, killed. 25 rank and file, wounded.

63d, Lt. Dalrymple, killed. Capts. Foliot and Stopford, wounded. 1 Serjeant, 7 rank and file, killed. 2 serjeants, 1 drummer, 25 rank and file, wounded.

65th. Capt. Hutson, killed. Major Butler, capt. Sinclair, lieuts. Paxon, Hales, Smith, wounded. 1 serjeant. 8 rank and file, killed. 1 serjeant, 1 drummer, 25 rank and file, wounded.

MARINES.

1st. Battalion. Major Pitcairn, killed. Capt. Ellis, lieuts. Shea, Hunter, killed. Capts. Averne, Chudleigh and Johnston, lieu. Rags, wounded. 2 serjeants, 15 rank and file, killed. 2 serjeants, 55 rank and file, wounded.

2d Battalion. Ct. Campbell, lieut. Gardiner, killed. capt. Logan, lieuts. Dyer and Brisbane, wounded. 5 rank and file, killed. 1 serjeant, 29 rank and file, wounded.

Officers attending on General Howe.

67th. Capt. Sherwin, aide de camp, killed. (ed

14th. Lieut. Bruere killed. Ensign Hesketh, wound-

ROYAL NAVY.

Lieut. Jorden, Engineer lieut. Page, wounded.

Volunteers, late Barre's Lieut. Alex. Campbell on half pay, wounded,

ROYAL ARTILLERY.

Mr. Vance,
4th, Foot. Mr. Dorcas,
35th, —— Mr. Maiden,
52d, —— Mr. Harrison,
59th, —— Mr. Clerk,
} wounded.

21, Battalion. Marines. Mr. Bowman, wounded.

TOTAL.

Killed.		Wounded.	
1	Lieut. Colonel,	3	Majors,
2	Majors,	27	Captains,
7	Captains,	32	Lieutenants,
9	Lieutenants,	8	Ensigns,
15	Serjeants,	40	Sérjeants,
1	drummer,	12	Drummers,
191	Rank and file,	706	Rank and file,
226		828	

T. GAGE.

* See page, 85.

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purpoſe, General Knyphauſen croſſed the country from New Rochelle, and having taken poſſeſſion of King's Bridge without oppoſition, entered York Iſland, and took his ſtation to the north of fort Waſhington, to which the provincials had retired at his approach. 1776.

Fort Waſhington lies to the weſt of New York Iſland, not far from King's Bridge, near Jeffery's Hook, and almoſt facing Fort Lee on the Jerſey ſide, from which it was ſeparated by the North River. This work, though not contemptible, was not ſufficient to reſiſt heavy artillery; and it was by no means of a ſufficient extent for any other purpoſe than the ſtrengthening of lines. But the ſituation was extremely ſtrong, and the approaches difficult.

A general aſſault againſt Fort Waſhington.

The army having returned ſlowly by the North River, encamped on the heights of Fordham, at a moderate diſtance from King's Bridge, with the river on its right, and the Brunx on the left. Every thing being prepared for attacking the Fort, and the commander, Colonel Magaw, refuſing a ſummons to ſurrender, and declaring he would defend it to the laſt extremity, a general aſſault was determined upon, as ſaving the time that would be loſt in regular approaches. The garriſon conſiſted of near 3000 men, and the ſtrong grounds round the Fort were covered with lines and works. Four attacks were made at the ſame time. The firſt, on the North ſide, was conducted by the General Knyphauſen, at the head of two columns of Heſſians and Waldeckers. The ſecond on the Eaſt, was led on by Brigadier General Mathew, at the head of the 1ſt and 2d battalions of light infantry, and two battalions of guards, ſupported by Lord Cornwallis with the 1ſt and 2d battalions of grenadiers, and 33d regiment. Theſe forces croſſed the Eaſt river in flat boats, and as the provincial works there extended the breadth of the Iſland, redoubts and batteries were erected on the oppoſite ſhore, as well to cover the landing of the troops, as to annoy thoſe works which were near the water. The third attack, which was principally intended as a feint, to diſtract the enemy, was conducted by Lt. Col. Sterling, with the 42d regiment, who paſſed the Eaſt River lower down, between the 2d and 4th attacks. The laſt attack was made by Lord Percy with the corps which he commanded on the ſouth of the Iſland. All the attacks were ſupported with a numerous, powerful, and well ſerved artillery. Nov. 13. — 16th.

The Heſſians under General Knyphauſen had a thick wood to paſs, where the provincials were very advantageouſly poſted, and a warm engagement was continued for a conſiderable time,

1776. time, in which the former were much expoſed, and behaved with great firmneſs and bravery. In the mean time the light infantry landed, and were expoſed both before and after to a very briſk and continual fire from the provincials, who were themſelves covered by the rocks and trees among which they were poſted. The former however with their uſual alertneſs and activity, extricated themſelves by clambering up a very ſteep and rough mountain, when they ſoon diſperſed the enemy, and made way for the landing of the reſt of the troops without oppoſition. During theſe tranſactions, Lord Percy having carried an advanced work on his ſide, Col. Sterling was ordered to attempt a landing, and two battalions of the 2d. brigade to ſupport him. This ſervice was effected by the Colonel with great bravery. He advanced his boats through a very heavy fire, which they bore with the greateſt firmneſs and perſeverance, and forcing his way up a ſteep height, gained the ſummit, and took 170 priſoners, notwithſtanding a bold and good defence made by the enemy.

In the mean time Colonel Ralle, who led the right column of General Knyphauſen's attack, having forced the provincials, after a conſiderable oppoſition, from that ſtrong poſt, in his line, puſhed forward to their works, and lodged his column within an hundred yards of the fort; and being ſoon after joined by the General with the left column, who had at length overcome the impediments which he met with in the wood, the garriſon ſurrendered priſoners of war. The loſs on either ſide was not in any degree proportioned to the warmth, length, and variety of the action. The quantity of gunpowder found in the Fort was utterly inadequate to the purpoſe of almoſt the ſhorteſt defence. How ſo large a body was left with ſo poor a proviſion, is extremely unacountable. But the narrative of all theſe tranſactions is hitherto very imperfect.

Garriſon ſurrender priſoners of war.

Upon this acquiſition, a ſtrong body of forces under the command of Lord Cornwallis was paſſed over the North River in order to take Fort Lee and make a further impreſſion in the Jerſey's. The garriſon of 2000 men, had a narrow eſcape, by abandoning the Fort juſt before his lordſhip's arrival, leaving their artillery, ſtores, tents, and every thing behind. The Britiſh troops afterwards overrun the greater part of both the Jerſeys without oppoſition, the provincials every where flying before them; and at length extended their winter cantonments from New Brunſwick to the Delaware. If they had any means of paſſing that river upon their firſt arrival in its neighbourhood, there ſeems little doubt, conſidering

Fort Lee taken, and great part of the Jerſeys overrun.

dering the conſternation and diſmay which then prevailed among the provinci ls, that they might eaſily have become maſters of the city of Philadelphia; but the former, very prudently, either deſtroyed the boats, or removed them out of the way. 1776.

Rhode-Iſland taken.

During theſe ſucceſſes in the Jerſeys, General Clinton, with two brigades of Britiſh, and two of Heſſian troops, with a ſquadron of ſhips of war under the command of Sir Peter Parker, were ſent to make an attempt upon Rhode Iſland. In this enterprize they ſucceeded beyond expectation. The provincials having abandoned the Iſland at their approach, they took poſſeſſion of it without the loſs of a man; at the ſame time that they blocked up Hopkins's ſquadron which was in the harbour of Providence, on the adjoining Continent. The ſquadron and troops continued here during the winter, where they had better quarters than any other of the King's forces. Hitherto the Royal army had ſucceeded in every object ſince their landing at Staten-Iſland. The Provincial army, beſides the loſs by ſword, by captivity, and by deſertion, began to dwindle to very ſmall numbers, from the nature of their military engagement. They were only enliſted for a year; and the Coloniſts, who were but little uſed to any reſtraint, very ill brooked, even ſo long an abſence from their families. At the expiration of the term, but few were prevailed upon to continue in ſervice. Every thing ſeemed to promiſe a deciſive event in favour of the royal arms, and a ſubmiſſion of ſome of the principal colonies was hourly expected. Dec. 8th

A ſingular inſtance of real courage.

In page 171, the following particulars relative to Captain Morris, of the Briſtol man of war, ſhould have been introduced. We ſhall therefore give them here, as communicated by the ſurgeon of the ſhip.——After having the two bones of his fore arm ſhattered by a chain ſhot, and receiving a wound from a ball in his neck, he was taken into the cockpit, where he readily ſubmitted to amputation, which was performed juſt above the elbow. During the operation a red-hot ball went through the cockpit, which killed two of the ſurgeon's aſſiſtants, and wounded the purſer. After the confuſion which this circumſtance occaſioned was over, cap. Morris inſiſted on being carried on the quarter-deck to reſume his command; which being complied with, he continued the fight for a conſiderable time after, till he was ſhot through the body. A prodigious effuſion of blood following, and his diſſolution being apparently at hand, one of the officers aſked him, if he had any directions to give with reſpect

1776. to his family, to which he heroically anſwered, "None!—as he left them to the providence of God, and the generoſity of his country!" His Majeſty accordingly, immediately on receiving an account of this affair, ſent the captain's widow an handſome preſent, and ſettled a penſion on her and her children.

Articles of Confederation, &c. entered into the Oct. 4th,

In the courſe of this year, and ſome little time after the *Declaration of Independence*, the Congreſs publiſhed the following Articles of Confederation and perpetual Union between the States of *New-Hampſhire*, *Maſſachuſett's-Bay*, *Rhode-Iſland*, *Connecticut*, *New-York*, *Penſylvania*, the Counties of *Newcaſtle*, *Kent*, and *Suſſex*, on *Delaware-River*, *Maryland*, *Virginia*, *North-Carolina*, *South-Carolina*, and *Georgia*. After having been long weighed and diſcuſſed, line by line, in the Congreſs, theſe Articles were at length reſolved upon and ſigned by all the Delegates, the 4th of October, 1776, at Philadelphia, ſuch as they are here ſet forth; and in conſequence were immediately ſent to the other States to be confirmed by them.

ARTICLE I. The Thirteen States above mentioned, confederate themſelves under the title of The UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

II. They contract, each in their own name, by the preſent conſtitution, a reciprocal treaty of alliance and friendſhip for their common defence, for the maintenance of their liberties, and for their general and mutual advantage; obliging themſelves to aſſiſt each other againſt all violence that may threaten all, or any one of them, and to repel in common all the attacks that may be levelled againſt all or any one of them, on account of religion, ſovereignty, commerce, or under any other pretext whatſoever.

III. Each State reſerves to themſelves alone the excluſive right of regulating their internal government, and of framing laws in all matters that are not included in the articles of the preſent Confederation, and which cannot any way prejudice the ſame.

IV. No State in particular ſhall either ſend or receive embaſſies, begin any negociations, contract any engagements, form any alliances, or conclude any treaties with any King, Prince, or Power whatſoever, without the conſent of the United States aſſembled in General Congreſs.

No perſon, inveſted with any poſt whatever under the authority of the United States, or of any of them, whether he has appointments belonging to his employment, or whether it be a commiſſion purely confidential, ſhall be allowed to accept

accept any preſents, gratuities, emoluments, or any offices or titles of any kind whatever, from any Kings, Princes, or Foreign Powers. 1776.

And the general Aſſembly of the United States, nor any State in particular, ſhall not confer any title of nobility.

V. Two, nor ſeveral of the ſaid States, ſhall not have power to form alliances or confederations, nor conclude any private treaty among themſelves, without the conſent of the United States aſſembled in General Congreſs, and without the aim and duration of that private convention be exactly ſpecified in the conſent.

VI. No State ſhall lay on any impoſts, nor eſtabliſh any duties whatever, the effect of which might alter directly, or indirectly, the clauſes of the treaties to be concluded hereafter by the Aſſembly of the United States with any Kings, Princes, or Power whatſoever.

VII. There ſhall not be kept by any of the ſaid States in particular, any veſſels or ſhips of war above the number judged neceſſary by the Aſſembly of the United States, for the defence of that State and its commerce; and there ſhall not be kept on foot in time of peace by any of the ſaid States, any troops above the number determined by the Aſſembly of the United States to guard the ſtrong places or forts neceſſary for the defence of that State; but each State ſhall always keep up a well-diſciplined militia, ſufficiently armed and equipped, and ſhall be careful to procure, and keep in conſtant readineſs, in the public magazines, a ſufficient number of field pieces and tents, with a proper quantity of ammunition and implements of war.

VIII. When any of the ſaid States ſhall raiſe troops for the common defence, all the officers of the rank of Colonel, and under, ſhall be appointed by the legiſlative body of the State that ſhall have raiſed the troops, or in ſuch manner as that State ſhall have judged proper to regulate the nominations; and when any vacancy happens in theſe poſts, they ſhall be filled up by the ſaid State.

IX. All the expences of war, and all other diſburſements, that ſhall be made for the common defence or the general weal, and that ſhall be ordered by the Aſſembly of the United States, ſhall be paid out of the funds of a common treaſury.

That common treaſury ſhall be formed by the contribution of each of the aforeſaid States, in proportion to the number of inhabitants of every age, ſex, or quality, except the Indians exempt from taxes in each State; and in order to

fix

1776. fix the quota of the contribution, every three years the inhabitants ſhall be numbered, in which enumeration the number of white people ſhall be diſtinguiſhed; and that enumeration ſhall be ſent to the Aſſembly of the United States.

The taxes appropriated to pay this quota, ſhall be laid and levied in the extent of each State by the authority and orders of its legiſlative body, within the time fixed by the Aſſembly of the United States.

X. Each of the ſaid States ſhall ſubmit to the deciſions of the Aſſembly of the United States, in all the matters or queſtions reſerved to that Aſſembly by the preſent act of Confederation.

XI. No State ſhall engage in war without the conſent of the United States aſſembled in Congreſs, except in caſe of actual invaſion of ſome enemy, or from a certain knowledge of a reſolution taken by ſome Indian nation to attack them, and in that caſe only, in which the danger is too urgent to allow them time to conſult the other States.

No particular State ſhall give any commiſſion to veſſels, or other ſhips of war, nor any letters of marque or repriſal, till after a declaration of war made by the Aſſembly of the United States; and even in that caſe they ſhall be granted only againſt the kingdom or the power, or againſt the ſubjects of the kingdom, or of the power againſt which war ſhall have been ſo declared; and ſhall conform, reſpecting theſe objects, to the regulations made by the Aſſembly of the United States.

XII. In order to watch over the general intereſt of the United States, and direct the general affairs, there ſhall be nominated every year according to the form ſettled by the legiſlative body of each State, a certain number of Delegates, who ſhall ſit at Philadelphia until the General Aſſembly of the United States ſhall have ordered otherwiſe; and the firſt Monday in November of each year, ſhall be the æra fixed for their meeting.

Each of the above mentioned States ſhall preſerve the right and power to recall, at any time whatever of the year, their Delegates, or any one of them, and to ſend others in the room of them for the remainder of the year; and each of the ſaid States ſhall maintain their Delegates during the time of the General Aſſembly, and alſo during the time they ſhall be members of the Council of State, of which mention ſhall be made hereafter.

XIII. Each State ſhall have a vote for the deciſion of queſtions in the General Aſſembly.

XIV. The

XIV. The General Assembly of the United States, shall alone and exclusively have the right and power to decide of peace and war, except in the case mentioned in article XI. —to establish rules for judging in all cases the legitimacy of the prizes taken by sea or land, and to determine the manner in which the prizes taken by the land or sea forces, in the service of the United States, shall be divided or employed; —to grant letters of marque or reprisal in time of peace; —to appoint tribunals to take cognizance of piracies, and all other capital crimes committed on the high seas;—to establish tribunals to receive appeals, and judge finally in all cases of prizes;—to send and receive ambassadors;—to negociate and conclude treaties or alliances;—to decide all differences actually subsisting, and that may arise hereafter between two or several of the aforementioned States, about limits, jurisdiction, or any other cause whatsoever;—to coin money, and fix its value and standard;—to fix the weights and measures throughout the whole extent of the United States;—to regulate commerce, and treat of all affairs with the Indians who are not members of any of the States;—to establish and regulate the posts from one State to another, in the whole extent of the United States, and to receive on the letters and packets sent by post, the necessary tax to defray the expence of that establishment;—to appoint the general officers of the land forces in the service of the United States;—to give commissions to the other officers of the said troops, who shall have been appointed by virtue of Article VIII;—to appoint all the officers of marine in the service of the United States;—to frame all the ordinances necessary for the government and discipline of the said land and sea forces; and to direct their operations. 1776.

The General Assembly of the United States shall be authorized to appoint a Council of State, and such committees and civil officers as they shall judge necessary for guiding and dispatching the general affairs, under their authority, whilst they remain sitting; and after their separation, under the authority of the Council of State.—They shall chuse for President one of their members, and for Secretary the person whom they shall judge fit for that place; and they may adjourn at what time of the year, and to what place in the United States they shall think proper.—They shall have the right and power to determine and fix the sums necessary to be raised, and the disbursements necessary to be made;—to borrow money, and to create bills on the credit of the United States;—to build and fit out fleets;—to determine the number

1776. ber of troops to be raiſed or kept in pay;—and to require of each of the aforeſaid States, to compoſe the army, a contingent proportioned to the number of its white inhabitants. ——Theſe requiſitions of the General Aſſembly ſhall be binding, and in conſequence of the legiſlative body of each State ſhall nominate the particular officers, levy the men, arm and equip them properly; and theſe officers and ſoldiers, thus armed and equipped, ſhall proceed to the place, and within the time fixed by the General Aſſembly.

But if the General Aſſembly, from ſome particular circumſtances ſhould think proper to exempt one or ſeveral of the States from raiſing troops, or to demand of them leſs than their contingent, and ſhould on the contrary judge it convenient that one or ſeveral others ſhould raiſe more than their contingent; the number extraordinary demanded ſhall be raiſed, provided with officers, armed and equipped in the ſame manner as the contingent, unleſs the legiſlative body of that, or thoſe of the States to whom the requiſition ſhall have been made, ſhould deem it dangerous for themſelves to be drained of that number extraordinary, and in that caſe they ſhall furniſh no more than what they think compatible with their ſafety; and the officers and ſoldiers ſo raiſed and equipped ſhall go to the place, and within the time fixed by the General Aſſembly.

The General Aſſembly ſhall never engage in any war, nor grant letters of marque or repriſal in time of peace, nor contract any treaties of alliance or other conventions, except to make peace, nor coin money or regulate its value, nor determine or fix the ſums neceſſary to be raiſed, or the diſburſements neceſſary to be made for the defence or advantage of the United States, or of ſome of them, nor create bills nor borrow money on the credit of the United States, nor diſpoſe of any ſums of money, nor reſolve on the number of ſhips of war to be built or purchaſed, or on the number of troops to be raiſed for land or ſea ſervice, nor appoint a commander of chief of the land or ſea forces, but by the united conſent of nine of the States: and no queſtion on any point whatſoever, except for adjourning from one day to another ſhall be decided by a majority of the United States.

No Delegate ſhall be choſen for more than three years out of ſix.

No perſon inveſted with any employment whatever in the extent of the United States, and receiving, by virtue of that employment, either by himſelf, or through the hands of any other for him, any ſalaries, wages, or emoluments whatever, ſhall be choſen a Delegate. The

The General Aſſembly ſhall publiſh every month a journal of their ſeſſions, except what ſhall relate to treaties, alliances, or military operations, when it ſhall appear to them that theſe matters ought to be kept ſecret. The opinions *pro* and *con* of the Delegates of each State, ſhall be entered in the journals as often as any one of the Delegates ſhall require it; and there ſhall be delivered to the Delegates of each State, on their demand, or even to any one of the Delegates of each State, at his particular requiſition, a copy of the journal, except of the parts above mentioned, to be carried to the legiſlative body of his reſpective State. 1776.

XV. The Council of State ſhall be compoſed of one Delegate of each of the States, nominated annually by the other Delegates of his reſpective States; and in the caſe where theſe electors might not be able to agree, that Delegate ſhall be nominated by the General Aſſembly.

The Council of State ſhall be authoriſed to receive and open all the letters addreſſed to the United States, and anſwer them; but ſhall not contract any engagements binding to the United States.—They ſhall correſpond with the legiſlative bodies of each State, and with all perſons employed under the authority of the United States, or of ſome of the particular legiſlative bodies.—They ſhall addreſs themſelves to theſe legiſlative bodies, or to the officers to whom each ſtate ſhall have entruſted the executive power, for aid and aſſiſtance of every kind, as occaſion ſhall require.—They ſhall give inſtructions to the Generals, and direct the military operations by land or by ſea; but without making any alterations in the objects or expeditions determined by the General Aſſembly, unleſs a change of circumſtances intervening and coming to their knowledge ſince the breaking up of the Aſſembly, ſhould render a change of meaſures indiſpenſibly neceſſary. They ſhall be careful of the defence and preſervation of the fortreſſes or fortified parts.—They ſhall procure information of the ſituation and deſigns of the enemy. They ſhall put in execution the meaſures and plans that ſhall have been reſolved by the General Aſſembly, by virtue of the powers with which they are inveſted by the preſent confederation.——They ſhall draw upon the treaſurers for the ſums, the deſtination of which ſhall have been ſettled by the General Aſſembly, and for the payment of the contracts which they have made by virtue of the powers that are granted to them. They ſhall reſpect and reprove, they ſhall even ſuſpend all officers civil and military acting under the authority of the United States.—In the caſe of death or

ſuſpenſion

1776. ſuſpenſion of any officer whoſe nomination belongs to the General Aſſembly, they may replace him by what perſon they think proper until the next Aſſembly.—They may publiſh and diſperſe authentic accounts of the military operations.—They may convene the General Aſſembly for a nearer term than that to which they had adjourned when they ſeparated, if any important and unexpected event ſhould require it for the welfare or benefit of the United States, or ſome of them.—They ſhall prepare the matters that are to be ſubmitted to the inſpection of the General Aſſembly, and lay before them at the next ſitting all the letters or advices by them received, and ſhall render an exact account of all that they have done in the interim.—They ſhall take for their ſecretary a perſon fit for that employment, who before he enters on his function ſhall take an oath of ſecrecy and fidelity.—The preſence of ſeven members of the Council will empower them to act.—In caſe of the death of one of their members, the Council ſhall give notice of it to the colleagues of the deceaſed, that they may chuſe one of themſelves to replace him in the Council until the holding of the next general meeting; and in caſe there ſhould be but one of his colleagues living, the ſame notice ſhall be given to him, that he may come and take his ſeat until the next ſitting.

XVI. In caſe that Canada ſhould be willing to accede to the preſent Confederation, and come into all the meaſures of the United States, it ſhall be admitted into the union, and participate in all its benefits. But no other Colony ſhall be admitted without the conſent of nine of the States.

The above Articles ſhall be propoſed to the legiſlative bodies of all the United States, to be examined by them, and if they approve of them, they are deſired to authoriſe their Delegates to ratify them in the General Aſſembly; after which all the articles which conſtitute the preſent Confederation, ſhall be inviolably obſerved by all and every of the United States, and the Union ſhall be eſtabliſhed for ever.

There ſhall not be made hereafter any alteration in theſe Articles, nor in any of them, unleſs that the alteration be previouſly determined in the General Aſſembly, and confirmed afterwards by the legiſlative bodies of each of the United States.

Congreſs adjourn to Cambridge.

After the foregoing Articles as well as other public papers had been digeſted and entered on their journals or books of record, the Congreſs adjourned to Cambridge, there to meet the 13th of the ſame month. At the opening of which meetting, and after ſeveral members had taken their oaths and ſeats,

1776.

ſeats, Mr. HANDCOCK, being preſident, addreſſed the Speaker; which oration we inſert, not merely for the ſpirit or energy of which it is fraught, but from their own public and ſolemn declaration to ſhew, (as moſt of their preceding papers equally do) that their principal hope of ſucceſs lay in their certainty of receiving TIMELY ASSISTANCE. The reader is therefore at liberty, from theſe circumſtances, and others that will yet follow in due courſe equally authenticated, to judge for himſelf, whether France had not early cheriſhed and ſupported the idea of Independence in America, long before the Congreſs announced it to the public; and that too, while ſhe was ſeemingly in perfect amity with the mother country.——Mr. Handcock addreſſed the gentlemen of the Congreſs as follows,—"In ſo perilous and critical a ſeaſon as the preſent, it has been thought moſt expedient for the many and divers momentous concerns which muſt come under our ſerious conſiderations for the welfare and ſervice of this country, to meet thus early together.

Preſident's Speech at the opening thereof.

"It muſt afford us the higheſt ſatisfaction to obſerve, that we ſtill continue to ſet aſide every private intereſt and to adopt ſuch ſalutary meaſures, and to purſue and maintain with the utmoſt unanimity and reſolution, the Glorious Cauſe in which we are now engaged.

"Permit me to return you my moſt ſincere and unfeigned thanks for ſo diſtinguiſhed and unmerited a mark of your confidence and eſteem, for which I am impreſſed with the deepeſt ſenſe of gratitude, and at the ſame time claim your future protection.

"I cannot help reminding you, that on my part a moſt ſacred oath has been taken for the faithful diſcharge of my duty; that on yours, the ſame ſolemn aſſurances have been given to ſupport me in the very arduous and dangerous ſituation I now ſtand, in being Preſident of this Honourable Aſſembly. My being choſen by the free ſuffrages of a brave, generous, and much injured people to rule over their welfare, is, in my opinion, the higheſt honour any man can enjoy. At the ſame time I dread much the weight and arduous duties of ſo honorable a ſtation. I wiſh much that your choice had fallen upon one better qualified to diſcharge the Duties of ſo important a function; for tho' in zeal and integrity I will yield to no man, yet in my abilities to ſerve you, I am too confident of my inferiority to many; however by undertaking it, I ſhall be ranked undeſervedly by our enemies, amongſt ambitious and deſigning men, by whom it has been propagated that the people have been groſsly deceived and miſled. As I have always

1776. ways thought every man's beſt ſervices are due to the good of his country, no fear of ſlander, difficulty, nor danger, ſhall deter me in exerting my utmoſt endeavours: In ſo critical a time as the preſent, I will not withold them; but in the cauſe, every part of my life, time, and fortune ſhall be employed.

"Notwithſtanding our arms have not been altogether ſucceſsful in a neighbouring province, in our many dangerous and vigorous attempts, yet it has in a great meaſure anſwered our deſign, by fruſtrating the progreſs of our enemies in that quarter; and I doubt not that through *timely aſſiſtance*, and by the bleſſing and aid of Almighty God, we ſhall be able to make more than a formidable reſiſtance; when we ſhall ſee America not only independent of Great Britain, but the ſeat of freedom, and the moſt powerful and flouriſhing empire in the known world.

"The immenſe expence both of blood and treaſure muſt alſo affect our thoughts, and engroſs our attentions; yet the object in view is too important to reflect on the demands that are to affect ſuch an intereſted occaſion, ſtill hoping that our ſpirit and reſources are too great and numerous to ſubmit to the tyrannical oppreſſions of any foreign ſtate whatever.—And let us alſo remember, my brave friends and coadjutors, that as the greateſt empires have riſen to glory by virtue and freedom, let us ſtill be free and virtuous; and preſerve and cheriſh this maxim, that the great Author of Nature never created His NOBLEST WORK to be ſlaves, but to maintain that Independence and Liberty, which is both the happineſs and glory of the human race.

"On the honour, candour, and generoſity of my worthy Delegates and countrymen I rely, to put the moſt favourable conſtructions, as they have hitherto confided in my actions, reſting myſelf aſſured of receiving (in a faithful diſcharge of my duty) the ſupport and aſſiſtance of every good man, who is a well-wiſher to America. I muſt conclude with obſerving to you, that if there ſhould be any contention or ſtrife ariſe among us, let it be who ſhall exert himſelf moſt to ſerve and to ſave an oppreſſed and much injured people. My fervent prayer to the Omnipotent Ruler of all Empires is, that under his Divine and gracious Providence, the INDEPENDENCE and LIBERTIES of America may be for ever maintained and preſerved."

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

Affairs at Canada continued. (from p. 160) to the taking of Lake Champlain, &c. Situation of affairs to the Southward, (from p. 198) comprehending the taking of General Lee. The critical ſituation of Philadelphia. Different movements of Congreſs. Affairs at Trenton and Princetown; with other intereſting particulars, to the cloſe of this campaign.

1776 *July.*

Preparation in Canada for the armament on Lake Champlain.

THE efforts to remove thoſe obſtacles that had reſtrained the progreſs of the Britiſh arms on the ſide of Canada, in this ſummer (1776,) were equal to the importance of the objects in view, and the greatneſs of the difficulties which were to be ſurmounted. The weight and execution of the naval equipment, fell of courſe upon the officers and men of that department, whoſe ability, zeal, and perſeverance in the performance, can never be too much applauded. The taſk was indeed arduous. A fleet of above thirty fighting veſſels, of different kinds and ſizes, all furniſhed with cannon, was to be little leſs than created; for though a few of the largeſt were reconſtructions, the advantage derived from thence depended more upon the uſe of materials, which the country did not afford, than upon any ſaving as to time, or leſſening of labour. When to this is added, the tranſporting over land, and afterwards dragging up the rapids of St. Thereſe and St. John's, thirty long boats, a number of flat boats of conſiderable burthen, a gondola, weighing 30 tons, with above 400 battoes, the whole preſented a complexity of labour and difficulty, which ſeemed ſufficient to appal even the ſpirit of Britiſh ſeamen. However it muſt be allowed that the labour did not fall ſolely on them. The ſoldiers had their part; and what is to be lamented, the peaſants and farmers of Canada were taken from their ploughs, and compelled by power to bear a ſhare in toils, from whence they could derive no honour or advantage.

Though the equipment was completed in about three months, the nature of the ſervice, as well as the eagerneſs of

1776. the commanders and army, required, if it had been poſſible, a ſtill greater diſpatch. The winter was faſt approaching, two inland ſeas to be paſſed, the unknown force of the enemy on each to be ſubdued, and the ſtrong poſts of Crown Point and Ticonderoga defended and ſupported by an army, to be encountered ſword in hand. To add to theſe impediments, the communication between the Lakes Champlain and George, did not admit the paſſage of thoſe veſſels of force, which, after being ſucceſsful on the one, might be equally wanted on the other. And if all thoſe difficulties were ſurmounted, and Lake George paſſed, there ſtill remained a long and dangerous march through intricate foreſts, extenſive moraſſes, and an uncleared country, ſtill in a ſtate of nature, before they could reach Albany, which was the firſt poſt to the ſouthward that could afford them reſt and accommodation.

The ſpirit of the commanders roſe in proportion to the difficulties which were to be encountered. The objects in view were great, the glory to be acquired tempting, and the deſire of the attainment ſeemed to leſſen or remove obſtacles, which to a cold or lukewarm ſpeculation would have appeared inſuperable. If the Lakes could be recovered, and Albany poſſeſſed, before the ſeverity of the winter ſet in, the northern army would hold a principal ſhare in the honour of bringing the war to a ſpeedy concluſion. It was conceived that they could then pour deſtruction at will, into the heart either of the middle or the northern colonies, each of which would be expoſed to them in its moſt tender and defenceleſs part. Whilſt the poſſeſſion of Hudſon's river would eſtabliſh and ſecure their communication with General Howe, it would equally ſever and diſconnect the ſouthern and northern provinces, leaving thereby the latter to ſink under the joint weight of both armies, or to accept of ſuch terms as they could obtain, without the participation of the others. Nor could General Waſhington attempt to hold any poſt in New York or the Jerſeys, with ſuch a ſuperiority of force as already oppreſſed him in front, and General Carleton's army at his back. The ſucceſſes of their fellows on the ſide of New York, increaſed the impatience, and excited the jealouſy of his army, every one apprehending that the war would be brought to an end, before he could have an opportunity of ſharing in the honour of that happy event.

With all this ardour, and the moſt unremitting induſtry, it was not until the month of October, that the fleet was in a con-

a condition to ſeek the enemy on Lake Champlain. The force was very conſiderable with reſpect to the place and ſervice, extraordinary in regard to the little time ſpent in its formation, and ſuch as, a very few ages ago, would have been deemed formidable even upon the European ſeas. The ſhip Inflexible, which may be conſidered as Admiral, had been re-conſtructed at St. John's, from whence ſhe ſailed in 28 days after laying her keel, and mounted 18 twelve pounders. One ſchooner mounted 14, and another 12, ſix pounders. A flat bettomed radeau carried ſix 24, and ſix 12 pounders, beſides howitzers; and a gondola, 7 nine pounders. Twenty ſmaller veſſels, under the denomination of gun-boats, carried braſs field pieces from 9 to 24 pounders, or were armed with howitzers. Some long-boats were furniſhed in the ſame manner. About an equal number of large boats acted as tenders. Thoſe we have taken notice of, were all intended for, or appertaining to battle; we omit the vaſt number deſtined for the tranſportation of the army, with its ſtores, artillery, baggage and proviſions.

1776.

State of the Britiſh force on Lake Champlain.

The armament was conducted by Captain Pringle, and the fleet navigated by above 700 prime ſeamen, of whom 200 were volunteers from the tranſports, who after having rivalled thoſe belonging to the ſhips of war in all the toil of preparation, now boldly and freely partook with them in the danger of the expedition. The guns were ſerved by detachments of men and officers belonging to the corps of artillery. In a word, no equipment of the ſort was ever better appointed, or more amply furniſhed with every kind of proviſion neceſſary for the intended ſervice.

The enemy's force was in no degree equal, either with reſpect to the goodneſs of the veſſels, the number of guns, furniture of war, or weight of metal. Senſible, though they were, of the neceſſity of preſerving the dominion of the Lakes, and aided in that deſign by the original force in their hands, with a great advantage in point of time for its increaſe, their intentions in that reſpect were counteracted by many eſſential, and ſome irremediable deficiencies. They wanted timber, artillery, ſhip-builders, and all the materials neceſſary for ſuch an equipment. Carpenters, and all others concerned in the buſineſs of ſhipping, were fully engaged at the ſea ports in the conſtruction and fitting out of privateers, whilſt the remoteneſs, and difficulty of communication, rendered the ſupply of bulky materials extremely tedious. When we conſider the difficulties on their part, we think it not juſt to deny the Americans the praiſe, of

1776. having combated, and in part overcome them, with an aſſiduity, perſeverance, and ſpirit, which did not in the leaſt fall ſhort of what had been employed againſt them. For their fleet amounted to 15 veſſels of different kinds, conſiſting of two ſchooners, one ſloop, one cutter, three gallies, and eight gondolas. The principal ſchooner mounted 12 ſix and four pounders. They were commanded by Benedict Arnold, who was now to ſupport upon a new element, that renown which he had acquired on land in the Canada expedition.

State of the American force.

Engagement near the iſle Valicour.

General Carleton was too full of zeal, and too anxious for the event, not to head the Britiſh armament, and having proceeded up the Lake, diſcovered the enemy's fleet drawn up with great judgment, being very advantageouſly poſted, and forming a ſtrong line, to defend the paſſage between the iſland of Valicour and the weſtern main. Indeed they had at the beginning placed themſelves with ſo much ſkill behind the iſland, that an accident only diſcovered their poſition. The King's ſquadron, without this ſeaſonable diſcovery, would have left them behind; an event, which if it had happened, might have been attended with the moſt ſerious conſequences. It is ſaid, that the unexpected ſight of a three maſted ſhip of ſuch force, upon the Lake, threw the enemy into the utmoſt, and moſt viſible conſternation. It does not ſeem, however, probable, that a matter of ſuch public notoriety in Canada ſhould have been ſo long with-held from them.

A warm action enſued, and was vigorouſly ſupported on both ſides for ſome hours; but the wind being unfavourable, ſo that the ſhip Inflexible, and ſome other veſſels of force could not be worked up to the enemy, the weight of the action fell upon the ſchooner Carleton and the gun-boats, which they ſuſtained with the greateſt firmneſs, ſuch extraordinary efforts of reſolution being diſplayed both by men and officers, as merited and received the higheſt applauſe from their commanders. It is to be preſumed, that when ſo much praiſe was due and given to the conduct and valour of a ſuperior force on our ſide, the enemy muſt not have acted their part amiſs.

The detachment belonging to the corps of artillery, were highly diſtinguiſhed, and did moſt eſſential ſervice in the gun-boats. But the ſame impediments ſtill continuing, which prevented their being ſeconded by the other veſſels, Captain Pringle, with the approbation of the General, thought it neceſſary for the preſent, to withdraw thoſe that were engaged from the action. At the approach of night, he brought the

the whole fleet to anchor in a line, and as near as poſſible to the enemy, in order to prevent their retreat. 1776.

In this engagement the beſt ſchooner belonging to the enemy was burnt, and a gondola carrying three or four guns ſunk, from whence we may form ſome reaſonable conjecture of the execution done upon their other veſſels. Being now fully ſenſible of their inferiority, they took the opportunity which the darkneſs of the night afforded, of endeavouring to eſcape from their preſent imminent danger, hoping to obtain ſhelter and protection at Crown Point. Arnold concerted and executed this deſign with ability, and fortune ſeemed at firſt ſo favourable to his purpoſe, that they were out of ſight by the next morning. The chace being, however, continued without intermiſſion both on that, and the ſucceeding day, the wind, and other circumſtances peculiar to the navigation of the Lake, which had been at firſt in favour of the Americans, became at length otherwiſe, ſo that they were overtaken and brought to action a few leagues ſhort of Crown Point, about noon on the 13th.

Arnold retires; purſuit; overtaken.

A very warm engagement enſued, and continued about two hours, during which thoſe veſſels that were moſt a-head, puſhed on with the utmoſt ſpeed, and paſſing Crown Point, eſcaped to Ticonderoga; but two gallies and five gondolas which remained with Arnold made a deſperate reſiſtance. During this action, the Waſhington galley, with Waterburg, a Brigadier General, and the ſecond in command, on board, ſtruck, and was taken. Arnold, at length, finding it was impoſſible to withſtand the ſuperiority of force, ſkill, and weight of metal, with which he was overborne, and finding himſelf but ill ſeconded by the Captains of ſome of his veſſels, determined that his people ſhould not become priſoners, nor the veſſels a prey to the enemy. He executed this deſign with equal reſolution and dexterity, and ran the Congreſs galley, in which himſelf was, with the five gondolas on ſhore in ſuch a manner, as to land his men ſafely and blow up the veſſels, in ſpite of every effort that was uſed to prevent both.

Burns his veſſels.

Loſs and defeat were ſo far from producing their uſual effect with reſpect to Arnold, that his conduct in this command raiſed his character ſtill higher than it was before with his countrymen. They ſaid that he had not only acted the part of a brave ſoldier, but that he alſo amply filled that of an able naval commander. That the moſt experienced ſeaman could not have found a greater variety of reſources, by the dexterity of manœuvre, evolution, and the moſt advan-

1776. tageous choice of ſituation, to compenſate for the want of force, than he did; that when his veſſels were torn almoſt to pieces, he retreated with the ſame reſolution that he fought, and by the happieſt and moſt critical judgment, prevented his people and them from falling into the hands of the enemy. But they chiefly gloried in the dangerous attention he paid to a nice point of honour, in keeping his flag flying, and not quitting his galley till ſhe was in flames, leſt the enemy ſhould have boarded and ſtruck it.

Crown Point abandoned and deſtroyed

Thus was Lake Champlain recovered, and the enemy's force nearly deſtroyed, a galley, and three ſmall veſſels being all that eſcaped to Ticonderoga. The enemy, upon the rout of their fleet, having ſet fire to the houſes, and deſtroyed every thing which they could not carry off, at Crown Point, evacuated that place, and retired to their main body at Ticonderoga.

G. Carleton lands there with the army.

Gen. Carleton took poſſeſſion of the ruins, where he was ſoon joined by the army. As he continued there till towards the end of the month, and, beſides ſeveral reconnoitring parties, puſhed on at one time ſtrong detachments on both ſides of the Lake, who approached within a ſmall diſtance of Ticonderoga, at the ſame time that veſſels appeared within cannon ſhot of the works, to examine the nature of the channel, and ſound its depth, little doubt can be entertained that he had it in contemplation to attempt that place. The ſtrength of the works, the difficulty of approach, the countenance of the enemy, and the ignorance of their number, with other cogent reaſons, prevented this deſign from taking place.

Motives for not attacking Ticonderoga.

It was evident that this poſt could not be forced in its preſent ſtate, without a very conſiderable loſs of blood, whilſt the benefit ariſing from ſucceſs would be comparatively nothing. The ſeaſon was now too far advanced to think of paſſing Lake George, and of expoſing the army to the perils of a winter campaign, in the inhoſpitable, and impracticable wilds to the ſouthward. As Ticonderoga could not be kept during the winter, the moſt that could be expected from ſucceſs, would be the reduction of works, more indebted to nature than art for their ſtrength, and perhaps the taking of ſome cannon; whilſt the former would be reſtored, and the latter replaced by the enemy, before the army could interrupt their proceedings in the enſuing ſummer. But if the defence ſhould be obſtinate, although the army were in the end ſucceſsful, it would probably thereby be ſo much weakened, that all proſpect of advantage in the future campaign would, in a great meaſure, be annihilated.

The

The difficulty, perhaps impoſſibility, of keeping open the communication with Canada, and ſubſiſting the army during the winter was obvious. General Carleton therefore reimbarked the army without making any attempt, and returning to Canada, cantoned them for the winter in the beſt manner the country afforded. 1776.

G. Carleton returns with the army.

It is fit that we ſhould now turn our attention to the important tranſactions in the South. We ſaw towards the concluſion of the laſt campaign, that Lord Cornwallis had not only overrun the Jerſeys, but that the Delaware was the only apparent obſtacle, which ſeemed capable of retarding the progreſs of his army, in the reduction of Philadelphia and the adjoining provinces. The American army was indeed no more. It is ſaid that the greateſt number which remained embodied did not exceed 2500 or 3000 men. This was all that remained of an army, which at the opening of the campaign amounted, as it is ſaid, to at leaſt twenty-five thouſand. There are ſome who repreſent it as having been at that time much ſtronger. The term of their engagement being expired, which, along with the obligation of duty, diſcharged all apprehenſion of diſgrace, there was no keeping together, at the heel of a ruinous campaign, troops broken and diſpirited, equally unaccuſtomed to ſubordination, and to a long abſence from their countries and families. Thoſe ſmall bodies, who from perſonal attachment, local circumſtances, or a ſuperior perſeverance and bravery, ſtill continued with the Generals Waſhington and Lee, were too inconſiderable in force, to demand much attention on the one ſide, or to inſpire confidence on the other: whilſt the ſupport to be derived from new levies, not yet formed, was too remote and precarious, to afford much preſent conſolation to the Americans.

Situation of affairs to the ſouthward.

In this critical ſituation of their affairs, the capture of Gen. Lee ſeemed to render them ſtill more hopeleſs. That officer, at the head of all the men which he could collect or keep together, being on his march to join General Waſhington, who had aſſembled the Penſylvania militia to ſecure the banks of the Delaware, was, from the diſtance of the Britiſh cantonments, betrayed into a fatal ſecurity, by which, in croſſing the upper part of New Jerſey from the North river, he fixed his quarters, and lay careleſsly guarded, at ſome diſtance from the main body. The operation of zeal, or deſire of reward in an inhabitant, having communicated this ſituation to Col. Harcourt, who commanded the light horſe, and had then made a deſultory excurſion at the head

Gen. Lee taken.

1776. of a ſmall detachment to obſerve the motions of that body, he conducted his meaſures with ſuch addreſs and activity, and they were ſo well ſeconded by the boldneſs and rapidity of motion which diſtinguiſh that corps, that the guard was evaded, the centries ſeized without noiſe, the quarters forced, and Lee carried off, though all that part of the country was in his favour, and that ſeveral guarded poſts, and armed patroles, lay in the way.

The making of a ſingle officer priſoner, in other circumſtances would have been a matter of little moment; but in the preſent ſtate of the raw American forces, where a general deficiency of military ſkill prevailed, and the inexperience of the officers was even a greater grievance than the lack of diſcipline in the ſoldiers, the loſs of a commander, whoſe ſpirit of enterprize was directed by great knowledge in his profeſſion acquired by actual ſervice, was of the utmoſt importance, and the more diſtreſſing, as there was little room to hope it could be ſoon ſupplied.

The rejoicing in Great Britain on this occaſion was equal at leaſt to the dejection of the Americans. It was conjectured, that ſome perſonal animoſities between this General and ſeveral officers in the army, as well as perſons of power at court, contributed not a little to the triumph and exultation of that time.

The capture of Gen. Lee was alſo attended with a circumſtance, which has ſince been productive of much inconvenience to both ſides, and of much calamity to individuals. A cartel, or ſomething of that nature, had ſome time before been eſtabliſhed for the exchange of priſoners between the Generals Howe and Waſhington, which had hitherto been carried into execution, ſo far as time and other circumſtances would admit. As Lee was particularly obnoxious to government, it was ſaid, and is ſuppoſed, that Gen. Howe was tied down by his inſtructions from parting with him upon any terms, if the fortune of war ſhould throw him into his power. Gen. Waſhington not having at this time any priſoner of equal rank with Lee, propoſed to exchange ſix field officers for him, the number being intended to balance that diſparity; or if this was not accepted, he required that he ſhould be treated and conſidered ſuitably to his ſtation, according to the practice eſtabliſhed among poliſhed nations, and the precedent already ſet by the Americans in regard to the Britiſh officers in their hands, until an opportunity offered for a direct and equal exchange.

To

1776.

To this it was anſwered, that as Mr. Lee was a deſerter from his Majeſty's ſervice, he was not to be conſidered as a priſoner of war, that he did not at all come within the conditions of the cartel, nor could he receive any of its benefits. This brought on a fruitleſs diſcuſſion, whether Gen. Lee, who had reſigned his half pay at the beginning of the troubles, could be conſidered as a deſerter, or whether he could with juſtice be excluded from the general benefits of a cartel, in which no particular exception of perſon had been made; the affirmative in both theſe poſitions being treated by Waſhington with the utmoſt indignation.

In the mean time Lee was confined in the cloſeſt manner, being watched and guarded with all that ſtrictneſs and jealouſy, which a ſtate criminal of the firſt magnitude could have experienced in the moſt dangerous political conjuncture. This conduct not only ſuſpended the operation of the cartel, but induced retaliation on the other ſide, and Colonel Campbell, who had hitherto enjoyed every degree of liberty conſiſtent with his condition, and had been treated with great humanity by the people of Boſton, was now thrown into a dungeon, and treated with a rigour equal to the indulgence he had before experienced. Thoſe officers who were priſoners in the ſouthern colonies, though not treated with equal rigour, were, however, abridged of their parole liberty, and deprived of other comforts and ſatisfactions, which had hitherto rendered their condition uncommonly eaſy. It was at the ſame time declared, that their future treatment ſhould in every degree be regulated by that which Gen. Lee experienced, and that their perſons ſhould be anſwerable, in the utmoſt extent, for any violence that was offered to him.

Perſeverance of the Congreſs.

This was not the only inſtance in which the Congreſs manifeſted a firm and undaunted reſolution. In the midſt of the dangers with which they were environed, far from giving way to any thing like unconditional ſubmiſſion, they made no overtures towards any kind of accommodation. On the other ſide none were made to them. They prepared to renew the war, and to repair their ſhattered forces with all diligence. They were now convinced of the inefficacy of temporary armies, engaged only for a ſhort term, and calculated merely to repel a ſudden invaſion, when oppoſed to the conſtant war of a powerful enemy, and the inceſſant efforts of regular forces. It could never be hoped, with new men thus changed every year, to make any effectual ſtand againſt veteran troops, and their preſent critical ſituation afforded too alarming an experience, of the fatal conſequences which might attend

1776. attend that period of utter imbecility, between the extinction of the old army, and the eſtabliſhment of the new. To guard againſt this evil in future, which could not be remedied for the preſent, they iſſued orders about the middle of September, for the levying of 88 battalions, the ſoldiers being bound by the terms of enliſtment to ſerve during the continuance of the war.

Meaſures for renewing the army.

The number of battalions which each colony was by this ordinance appointed to raiſe and ſupport, may be conſidered as a pretty exact political ſcale of their comparative ſtrength, framed by thoſe who were intereſted in its correctneſs, and well acquainted with their reſpective circumſtances. Maſſachuſett's Bay and Virginia were the higheſt on this ſcale, being to furniſh 15 battalions each; Penſylvania came next, and was rated at twelve; North Carolina 9, Connecticut and Maryland 8 each; New York, and the Jerſeys, the latter conſidered as one government, were, in conſequence of their preſent ſituation, ſet no higher than 4 battalions each.

Lands allotted for ſerving during the war.

The liberty of the Congreſs in its encouragement to the troops, was proportioned to the neceſſity of ſpeedily compleating the new army. Beſides the bounty of twenty dollars to each ſoldier at the time of enliſting, lands were to be allotted at the end of the war to the ſurvivors, and to the repreſentatives of all who were ſlain in action, in different ſtated proportions, from 500 acres, the allotment of a Colonel, to 150, which was that of an Enſign; the private men, and non-commiſſioned officers, were to have 100 acres each. As a bar to the thoughtleſſneſs and prodigality incident to ſoldiers, and to prevent the moſt worthleſs and undeſerving from obtaining for trifles, thoſe rewards due to the brave for their blood and ſervices, all theſe lands were rendered unalienable during the war, no aſſignment or transfer being to be admitted at its concluſion.

The Congreſs had before, as an encouragement to their forces by ſea and land, decreed that all officers, ſoldiers, and ſeamen, who were or might be diſabled in action, ſhould receive during life, one half of the monthly pay to which they were entitled by their rank in the ſervice, at the time of meeting with the misfortune. Notwithſtanding theſe encouragements, it ſeems, as if the condition of ſerving during the indefinite term of the continuance of the war, was not generally agreeable, to a people ſo little accuſtomed to any kind of ſubordination or reſtraint; ſo that in the month of November, the Congreſs found it neceſſary to admit of another mode of enliſtment for the term of three years, the ſoldiers under

under this compact receiving the ſame bounty in money with the others, but being cut out from any allotment of lands. 1776.

With all theſe encouragements by the Congreſs, the buſineſs of recruiting went on, however but heavily; and it muſt not be imagined, that the army actually raiſed, did at any time bear any proportion in effective men to that which was voted.

The holding out a promiſe of lands as an inducement to fill up their armies, was probably intended to counteract the effect of a ſimilar meaſure which had ſome time before been adopted on the ſide of the crown, large grants of *vacant* lands, to be diſtributed at the cloſe of the troubles, having been promiſed in its name to the Highland emigrants, and ſome other new troops raiſed in America, as a reward for their expected zeal and loyalty in the reduction of the rebellious colonies. A meaſure that tended more to increaſe and excite the animoſity of the people, than any other perhaps which could have been propoſed in the preſent circumſtances. For they univerſally conſidered the term *vacant*, as ſignifying *forfeited*, which being an effect of the treaſon laws yet unknown in America, excited the greater horror; the people being well aware from the experience of other countries, that if the ſweets of forfeiture were once taſted, it would be equally happy and unuſual, if any other limits than thoſe which nature had aſſigned to their poſſeſſions, could reſtrain its operation.

The annual ſupplies raiſed in different colonies by their reſpective aſſemblies, being inſufficient to provide for the extraordinary expences of ſo large an army, together with the other numerous contingencies, inſeparable from ſuch a war, the Congreſs found it neceſſary to negociate a loan to anſwer theſe purpoſes. They accordingly paſſed a reſolution to borrow five millions of dollars at the intereſt of four per cent. the faith of the united ſtates being pledged to the lenders for the payment both of principal and intereſt. Money borrow'd

As the ſituation of affairs became extremely critical, and the preſervation of Philadelphia to all appearance hopeleſs, at the time that Lord Cornwallis had overrun the Jerſeys, and that the Britiſh forces had taken poſſeſſion of the towns and poſts on the Delaware, the Congreſs publiſhed an addreſs to the people in general, but more particularly thoſe of Pennſylvania and the adjacent ſtates. The general objects of this piece, were to awaken the attention of the people, remove their deſpondency, renew their hopes and ſpirits, and confirm their attentions of ſupporting the war, by ſhewing that Dec. 10, Addreſs to the people.

no

1776. no other means were left for the preſervation of thoſe rights and liberties for which they originally contended But it was particularly and immediately intended to forward the completion of the new army, and to call out the inhabitants of the neighbouring countries, to the defence of Philadelphia.

For theſe purpoſes they enumerated the cauſes of the troubles, the ſuppoſed grievances they had endured, the late oppreſſive laws which had been paſſed againſt them, dwelt much upon the contempt with which all their petitions and applications for redreſs had been treated; and to ſhew that no alternative but war, or a tame reſignation of all that could be dear to mankind remained, they aſſerted, that even the boaſted Commiſſioners for giving peace to America had not offered, nor did yet offer, any terms but pardon on abſolute ſubmiſſion. From this detail and theſe premiſes they deduced the neceſſity of the act of Independency, aſſerting, that it would have been impoſſible for them to have defended their rights againſt ſo powerful an aggreſſor, aided by large armies of foreign mercenaries, or to have obtained that aſſiſtance from other ſtates which was abſolutely neceſſary to their preſervation, whilſt they acknowledged the ſovereignty, and confeſſed themſelves the ſubjects of that power, againſt which they had taken up arms, and were engaged in ſo cruel a war.

They boaſted of the ſucceſs that had in general attended their cauſe and exertions, contending that the preſent ſtate of weakneſs and danger, did not proceed from any capital loſs, defeat, or from any defect of valour in their troops, but merely from the expiration of the term of thoſe ſhort enliſtments, which had in the beginning been adopted from an attention to the eaſe of the people. They aſſured them, that foreign ſtates had already rendered them eſſential ſervices, and had given them the moſt poſitive aſſurances of further aid. And they excited the indignation and animoſity of the people, by expatiating upon the unrelenting, cruel, and inhuman manner, in which, they ſaid, the war was carried on, not only by the auxiliaries, but even by the Britiſh forces themſelves.

Complaints of this kind held a diſtinguiſhed place in all the American publications of that time. Some of them indeed contained nothing elſe, but details of rapes, rapine, cruelty and murder. Though theſe accounts were undoubtedly highly exaggerated, it is, however, to be apprehended, that too much room was afforded for complaints of that nature. The odium began with the Heſſians, and has ſince ſtuck cloſely to them, though the Britiſh troops were far from eſcaping a

ſhare

ſhare of the imputation. The former, naturally fierce and cruel, ignorant of any rights but thoſe of deſpotiſm, and of any manners, but thoſe eſtabliſhed within the narrow precinct of their own government, were incapable of forming any diſtinction between ravaging and deſtroying an enemy's country, where no preſent benefit was intended but plunder, nor any future advantage expected but that of weakening the foe, and the reducing of a malcontent people (who though in a ſtate of rebellion, were ſtill to be reclaimed, not deſtroyed) to a due ſenſe of obedience to their lawful ſovereign. 1776.

It has been ſaid, that in order to reconcile them to ſo new and ſtrange an adventure, ſome idea had been held out to them in Germany, that they ſhould obtain large portions of the lands which they were to conquer in America, and that this notion, however abſurd, made them at firſt conſider the antient poſſeſſors as their natural enemies; but that when they found their error, they conſidered the moveable plunder of the country, not only as a matter of right, but an inadequate recompenſe for undertaking ſuch a voyage, and engaging in ſuch a war.

Military rapine may be eaſily accounted for without any recourſe to ſuch a deception. It had been obſerved from the beginning, that the moſt mortal antipathy ſubſiſted between the Americans and Heſſians. The former, contending themſelves for freedom, and filled with the higheſt notions of the natural rights of mankind, regarded with equal contempt and abhorrence, a people whom they conſidered as the moſt forlid of all mercenary ſlaves, in thus reſigning all their faculties to the will of a petty deſpot, and becoming the ready inſtruments of a cruel tyranny. They reproached them with the higheſt poſſible degree of moral turpitude, in thus engaging in a domeſtic quarrel, in which they had neither intereſt nor concern, and quitting their homes in the old world to butcher a people in the new, from whom they never had received the ſmalleſt injury; but who, on the contrary, had for a century paſt afforded an hoſpitable aſylum to their harraſſed and oppreſſed countrymen, who had fled in multitudes to eſcape from a tyranny, ſimilar to that under which they were now acting, and to enjoy the bleſſings of a liberty moſt generouſly held out to them, of which theſe mercenaries would impiouſly bereave the German as well as Engliſh Americans.

Such ſentiments, and ſuch reproaches, did not fail to increaſe their natural ferocity and rapaciouſneſs; and it is ſaid that they continued in a courſe of plunder, until they at length became ſo encumbered and loaded with ſpoil, and ſo

anxious

1776. anxious for its preſervation, that it grew to be a great impediment to their military operations.

However diſagreeable this conduct was, and contrary to the nature of the Britiſh commanders, it was an evil not eaſily to be remedied. They could not venture to hazard the ſucceſs of the war, in ſo diſtant a ſituation, and ſuch precarious and critical circumſtances, by quarrelling with auxiliaries, who were nearly as numerous and powerful as their own forces. Allowances were neceſſarily to be made for a difference of manners, opinions, and even ideas of military rules and ſervice. Without opening any general ground of diſlike or quarrel, it required all the conſtancy, and all that admirable equanimity of temper which diſtinguiſh General Howe's character, to reſtrain the operation of thoſe picques, jealouſies, and animoſities, the effect of national pride, emulation, and a difference of manners, which no wiſdom could prevent from ſpringing up in the two armies.

It was ſcarcely poſſible that the devaſtation and diſorders practiſed by the Heſſians, ſhould not operate in ſome degree in their example upon the Britiſh troops. It would have been difficult to have puniſhed enormities on the one ſide, which were practiſed without reſerve or apprehenſion on the other. Every ſucceſsful deviation from order and diſcipline in war, is certainly and ſpeedily followed by others ſtill greater. No relaxation can take place in either without the moſt ruinous conſequences. The ſoldier, who at firſt ſhrinks at trifling exceſſes, will in a little time, if they paſs without queſtion, proceed, without heſitation, to the greateſt enormities.

From hence ſprung the clamour raiſed in America of the deſolation which was ſpread through the Jerſeys, and which by taking in friends and moderate men, as well as enemies, did great injury to the royal cauſe, uniting the latter more firmly, and urging to activity, or detaching, many of the former. Nor could the effect be confined to the immediate ſufferers; the exaggerated details which were publiſhed of theſe enormities, ſerving to embitter the minds of men exceedingly through all the colonies. Theſe accounts being alſo tranſmitted to Europe, ſeemed in ſome degree to affect our national character; in France particularly, where the people in general, through the whole courſe of this conteſt, have been ſtrongly American, they were readily received and willingly credited. Among other enormities which received the cenſure of our neighbours in that country, the deſtruction of the public library at Trenton, and of the college and library at Princetown, together with a celebrated orrery made by Rittenhouſe,

Rittenhouſe, ſaid to be the beſt and fineſt in the world, were brought as charges of a Gothic barbarity, which waged war even with literature and the ſciences. 1776.

In about a month after the taking of New-York, the inhabitants of that city and iſland, preſented a petition to Lord and General Howe, the commiſſioners for reſtoring peace to the colonies, ſigned by Daniel Horſemanden, Oliver de Lancy, and 946 others, declaring their allegiance, and their acknowledgment of the *Conſtitutional Supremacy* of Great-Britain over the colonies; and praying that in purſuance of the former declarations iſſued by the Commiſſioners, that city and county might be reſtored to his Majeſty's peace and protection. Petitions from the inhabitants of New-York, &c. to the commiſſioners.

This petition to the Commiſſioners was followed by another to the ſame purpoſe, from the freeholders and inhabitants of Queen's County in Long-iſland. It was obſerved of theſe petitions, that the acknowledgment of the Conſtitutional ſupremacy in one, and of the conſtitutional authority of Great-Britain in the other, were very guardedly expreſſed, all mention of parliament being omitted, and the great queſtion of unconditional ſubmiſſion left totally at large. It is alſo remarkable, that though the inhabitants of York Iſland and Queen's County, beſides raiſing a conſiderable body of troops for the King's ſervice, and eſtabliſhing a ſtrong militia for the common defence, had given every other teſtimony of their loyalty, which could be expected or wiſhed, yet theſe petitions were not attended to, nor were they reſtored to thoſe rights which they expected in conſequence of the declarations, as well as of the late law for the appointment of Commiſſioners. Critical ſtate of Philadelphia.

The critical ſituation of Philadelphia, which a night or two's froſt would have laid open to the Britiſh forces, obliged the Congreſs, about the cloſe of the year, to conſult their own ſafety by retiring to Baltimore, in Maryland. In this ſtate of external danger, the diſſentions which ſprung up among themſelves were not leſs alarming to the Americans. We have formerly ſhewn that the Declaration of Independency had met with a ſtrong oppoſition in Philadelphia, not only from thoſe who were called, or conſidered as Tories, but from many, who in all other matters had been among the moſt forward in oppoſing the claims of the crown and parliament. The carrying of the queſtion by a great majority throughout the province, was far from leſſening the bitterneſs of thoſe who oppoſed it, amongſt whom were moſt of the Quakers, a great and powerful body in that colony; ſo

that

1776. that the diſcontented in this buſineſs, forgetting in the preſent their ancient animoſity, with all its operating cauſes, coaleſced with the Tories or loyaliſts, whom they had formerly perſecuted, and conſidered as betrayers, and inveterate enemies of their country, thus compoſing all together a very formidable party.

Diviſions in Penſylvania.

In conſequence of this diſſention, and of the ill ſucceſs of the rebellious arms during the greater part of the campaign, which diſpoſed many to look to their ſafety, a Mr. Galloway, the family of Allens, with other leading men, either in Penſylvania or the Jerſeys, ſome of whom had been members of Congreſs, fled to the Commiſſioners at New-York, to claim the benefits of the general pardon which had been offered; expecting, as matters then ſtood, to return ſpeedily home in triumph. Theſewere, however, much leſs troubleſome and dangerous to the Americans, than thoſe who kept their ground, who were ſo numerous and powerful, that upon the approach of the Britiſh forces to the Delaware, they prevented the order for fortifying the city of Philadelphia from being carried into execution. This eccentric and alarming movement in the ſeat of life and action, obliged General Waſhington, weak as he was, to detach three regiments, under the command of Lord Stirling, effectually to quell the oppoſition of that party, and to give efficacy to the meaſure of fortifying the city. This deciſive conduct anſwered all its purpoſes, except that of fortifying the city, a deſign which ſeems to have been abandoned as not practicable, or not neceſſary at that time.

As the ſeaſon grew too ſevere to keep the field, and the froſts were not yet ſufficiently ſet in for the paſſage of the Delaware, it became neceſſary towards the middle of December to put the Britiſh and auxiliary forces under cover. They were accordingly thrown into great cantonments, forming an extenſive chain from Brunſwick on the Rariton to the Delaware, occupying not only the towns, poſts, and villages, which came within a liberal deſcription of that line, but thoſe alſo on the banks of the Delaware for ſeveral miles, ſo that the latter compoſed a front at the end of the line, which looked over to Penſylvania.

Things were now in ſuch a ſituation, that there ſeemed to be as little probability of interrupting the deſigns, or endangering the ſecurity on the one ſide, as of renewing the ſpirit, or retrieving the weakneſs, on the other. In this ſtate of affairs, a bold and ſpirited enterprize, which ſhewed more of brilliancy than real effect in its firſt appearance, became capable

pable in its conſequences of changing in a great meaſure the worſt fortune of the war. Such extraordinary effects do ſmall events produce, in that laſt and moſt uncertain of human deciſions. 1776.

Surprize at Trenton.

Colonel Rall, a brave and experienced officer, was ſtationed with a brigade of Heſſians, conſiſting of three battalions, with a few Britiſh light-horſe, and 50 chaſſeurs, amounting in the whole to 14 or 1500 men, at Trenton, upon the Delaware, being the higheſt poſt which the royal army occupied upon that river. Colonel Donop, with another brigade, lay at Bordentown, a few miles lower down the river; and at Burlington ſtill lower, and within twenty miles of Philadelphia a third body was poſted. The corps at Trenton, as well as the others, partly from the knowledge they had of the weakneſs of the enemy, and partly from the contempt in which they held him, conſidered themſelves in as perfect a ſtate of ſecurity, as if they had been upon garriſon duty in their own country, in a time of the profoundeſt peace. It is ſaid, and ſeems probable, that this ſuppoſed ſecurity, increaſed that licence and laxity of diſcipline, of which we have before taken notice, and produced an inattention to the poſſibility of a ſurprize, which no ſucceſs or ſituation can juſtify in the vicinity of an enemy, however weak or contemptible.

Theſe circumſtances, if they really exiſted, ſeem not to have eſcaped the vigilance of General Waſhington. But, excluſive of theſe, he fully ſaw and comprehended the danger to which Philadelphia and the whole province would be inevitably expoſed, as ſoon as the Delaware was thoroughly covered with ice, if the enemy, by retaining poſſeſſion of the oppoſite ſhore, were at hand to profit of that circumſtance, whilſt he was utterly incapable of oppoſing them in the field.

To ward off this danger, he with equal boldneſs and ability formed a deſign to prevent the enemy, by beating up their quarters; intending to remedy the deficiency of force by the manner of applying it; by bringing it nearly to a point; and by attacking unexpectedly and ſeparately thoſe bodies which he could not venture to encounter if united. If the deſign ſucceeded only in part, it might, however, induce the enemy to contract their cantonments, and to quit the vicinity of the river, when they found it was not a ſufficient barrier to cover their quarters from inſult and danger; thus obtaining that ſecurity for Philadelphia, which, at preſent, was the principal object of his attention.

1776. For this purpoſe, General Waſhington took the neceſſary meaſures for aſſembling his forces (which conſiſted moſtly of drafts from the militia of Penſylvania and Virginia) in three diviſions, each of which was to arrive at its appointed ſtation on the Delaware, as ſoon after dark, and with as little noiſe as poſſible, on the night of Chriſtmas-day. Two of theſe diviſions were under the command of the Generals Erwing and Cadwallader, the firſt of which was to paſs the river at Trenton Ferry, about a mile below the town, and the other ſtill lower towards Bordentown. The principal body was commanded by Mr. Waſhington in perſon, aſſiſted by the Generals Sullivan and Green, and conſiſted of about 2500 men, provided with a train of 20 ſmall braſs field pieces.

With this body he arrived at M'Kenky's Ferry, about nine miles above Trenton, at the time appointed, hoping to be able to paſs the diviſion and artillery over by midnight, and that it would then be no difficulty to reach that place long before daylight, and effectually to ſurprize Rall's brigade. The river was, however, ſo incumbered with ice, that it was with great difficulty the boats could make their way through, which with the extreme ſeverity of the weather, retarded their paſſage ſo much, that it was near four o'clock before it was compleated. They were ſtill equally delayed and incommoded in the march by a violent ſtorm of ſnow and hail, which rendered the way ſo ſlippery, that it was with difficulty they reached the place of deſtination by eight o'clock.

The detachment had been formed in two diviſions immediately upon paſſing the river, one of which, turning to the right, took the lower road to Trenton, whilſt the other, with General Waſhington, proceeded along the upper, or Pennington road. Notwithſtanding the delays they met, and the advanced ſtate of daylight, the Heſſians had no knowledge of their approach, until an advanced poſt, at ſome diſtance from the town, was attacked by the upper diviſion, the lower, about the ſame time, driving in the outguards on their ſide. The regiment of Rall, having been detached to ſupport the picket which was firſt attacked, was thrown into diſorder by the retreat of that party, and obliged to rejoin the main body. Colonel Rall now bravely charged the enemy, but being ſoon mortally wounded, the troops were thrown into diſorder after a ſhort engagement, and driven from their artillery, which conſiſted only of ſix battalion braſs field pieces. Thus overpowered, and nearly ſurrounded, after

Col. Rall mortally wounded

an

X General Washington

an ineffectual attempt to retreat to Princetown, the three regiments of Rall, Loſsberg, and Knyphauſen, found themſelves under the unfortunate neceſſity of ſurrendering priſoners of war. 1776. Three regiments ſurrender themſelves priſoner

As the road along the river ſide to Bordentown led from that part of Trenton moſt remote from the enemy, the light-horſe, chaſſeurs, a conſiderable number of the private men, with ſome few officers, made their eſcape that way. It is alſo ſaid, that a number of the Heſſians who had been out marauding in the country, and accordingly abſent from their duty that morning, found the ſame refuge, whilſt their crime was covered under the common misfortune.

The loſs of the Heſſians in killed and wounded was very inconſiderable, not exceeding 30 or 40 at the moſt; that on the other ſide was too trifling to be mentioned; the whole number of priſoners amounted to 918. Thus was one part of General Waſhington's project crowned with ſucceſs; but the two others failed in the execution, the quantity of ice being ſo great, that the diviſions under Erwing and Cadwallader, found the river, where they directed their attempts, impaſſable. If this had not been the caſe, and that the firſt, in purſuance of his inſtructions, had been able to have poſſeſſed the bridge over Trenton Creek, not one of thoſe who made their way to Bordentown could have eſcaped. But if the deſign had taken effect in all its parts, and the three diviſions had joined after the affair at Trenton, it ſeems probable that they would have ſwept all the poſts on the river before them.

As things were, General Waſhington could not proceed any further in the proſecution of his deſign. The force he had with him was far from being able even to maintain its ground at Trenton, there being a ſtrong body of light infantry within a few miles at Princetown, which by the junction of Donop's brigade, or other bodies from the cantonments, would have ſoon overwhelmed his little army. He accordingly repaſſed the Delaware the ſame evening, carrying with him the priſoners, who with their artillery and colours, afforded a day of new and joyful triumph at Philadelphia.

This ſmall ſucceſs wonderfully raiſed the ſpirits of the Americans. It is an odd, but a general diſpoſition of mankind, to be much more afraid of thoſe whom they do not know, than of thoſe with whom they are acquainted. Difference of dreſs, of arms (though leſs uſeful), of complexion, beard, colour of the hair or eyes, with the general manner, air, and countenance, have at different times had ſurprizing Great effects of the ſurprize at Trenton on the Americans in general.

1776. prizing effects upon brave, disciplined, and experienced armies. The Hessians had hitherto been very terrible to the Americans; and the taking of a whole brigade of them prisoners, seemed so incredible, that at the very time they were marching into Philadelphia, people were contending in different parts of the town, that the whole story was a fiction, and indeed that it could not be true. The charm was now, however, dissolved, and the Hessians were no longer terrible. In the mean time General Washington was reinforced by several regiments from Virginia and Maryland, as well as with several new bodies of the Pensylvania militia, who, with those of that province already under his command, were much distinguished in the hard service of the ensuing winter campaign.

Reasonings and conjectures thereon.

The surprize at Trenton did not excite less amazement in the British and auxiliary quarters, than it did joy in those of the Americans. Blame was loosely scattered every where. That three old established regiments, of a people who make war their profession, should lay down their arms to a ragged and undisciplined militia, and that with scarcely any loss on either side, seemed an event of so extraordinary a nature, that it gave full scope to the operation of conjecture, suspicion, censure, and malignity, as different tempers were differently affected.

The General was blamed for laying so extensive a chain of cantonments; Rall was condemned for marching out of the town to meet the enemy, and the character of the Hessians, in general, did not rise in the opinion of their allies.

As to the first, the General had foreseen the objection, but he depended upon the weakness of the enemy, the good disposition of the inhabitants, the considerable force which was stationed in the advanced posts, and was besides influenced by a desire to cover and protect the county of Monmouth, where a great number of the people were well affected to the royal cause. It may be added, that perhaps no line of cantonment or post can be contrived so compact and secure, as not to admit the possibility of an impression in some one part, by a force much inferior to the aggregate power of the defensive.

With respect to Colonel Rall, if the charge against him was fell founded, his misconduct sprung from an error, which was generally prevalent among the officers and men both of the British and Hessian forces. The fact is, that from the successes of the preceding campaign, and the vast superiority which they perceived in themselves in every action, they had held

held the Americans in too great contempt both as men and as ſoldiers, and were too apt to attribute thoſe advantages to ſome extraordinary perſonal virtue and excellence, which were in reality derived from the concurrence of a number of other, and very different cauſes; from military ſkill, experience and diſcipline; from the ſuperior excellence of their ſmall arms, artillery, and of all other engines, furniture, and ſupplies, neceſſary for war; and ſtill more particularly, to a better ſupply, and a more dexterous and effective uſe of bayonets; which gave them a great ſuperiority over the Americans, who were poorly furniſhed with this kind of arms, and were by no means expert in the uſe of them. 1776.

The alarm now ſpread, induced the Britiſh and auxiliary troops immediately to aſſemble, and General Grant, with the forces at Brunſwick and that quarter, to advance ſpeedily to Princetown; whilſt Lord Cornwallis, who had gone to New York in his way to England, found it neceſſary to delay his voyage, and return poſt to the defence of the Jerſeys. They were not now without an enemy to encounter, for General Waſhington, encouraged by the reinforcements he had received, had again paſſed the Delaware, and was with his whole force at Trenton. Lord Cornwallis returns to the Jerſeys.

Lord Cornwallis marched immediately to attack the enemy, whom he found in a ſtrong poſition, formed at the back of Trenton Creek, being in poſſeſſion of the bridge, and other paſſages, which were well covered with artillery. After ſeveral ſkirmiſhes in the approach, a cannonade enſued on both ſides, which continued until night. A brigade of the Britiſh troops lay that night at Maidenhead, ſix miles from Trenton, and another upon its march from Brunſwick, conſiſting of the 17th, the 40th, and 55th regiments, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Mawhood, were at Princetown, about the ſame diſtance beyond Maidenhead. Jan. 2, 1777.

In this ſituation on both ſides, General Waſhington, who was far from intending to riſque a battle, having taken the neceſſary precaution of keeping up the fires, and every other appearance of ſtill occupying his camp, and leaving ſmall parties to go the rounds, and guard the bridge and the fords, withdrew the reſt of his forces in the dead of night, and with the moſt profound ſilence. They marched with ſuch expedition towards Princetown, that though they took a large circuit by Allentown, partly to get clear of the Trenton, or Aſſumpink Creek, and partly to avoid the brigade which lay at Maidenhead, their van fell in at ſunriſe the next morning with Colonel Mawhood, who had juſt begun his march. General Waſhington quits his camp, and attacks Colonel Mawhood, near Princetown.

1776. That officer not having the ſmalleſt idea of their forces, the fogginess of the morning, or circumſtances of the ground, preventing him from ſeeing its extent, conſidered it only as the attempt of ſome flying party to interrupt his march, and having eaſily diſperſed thoſe by whom he was firſt attacked, puſhed forward without further apprehenſion. But in a little time, he not only found that the 17th regiment which he led was attacked on all ſides by a ſuperior force, but that it was alſo ſeparated and cut off from the reſt of the brigade, whilſt he diſcovered, by the continued diſtant firing, that the 55th, which immediately followed, was not in better circumſtances.

In this trying and dangerous ſituation, the brave commander, and his equally brave regiment, gained immortal honour. After a violent conflict, and the greateſt repeated exertions of courage and diſcipline, they at length, by dint of bayonet, forced their way through the thickeſt ranks of the enemy, and purſued their march to Maidenhead undiſturbed. The 55th regiment was little leſs preſſed, and finding it impoſſible to continue its march, with great reſolution made good its retreat, and returned by the way of Hillſborough to Brunſwick. The 40th regiment, which was ſtill at Princetown when the action began, ſuffered leſs than the others, and retired by another road to the ſame place. The enemy acknowledged that nothing could exceed the gallant behaviour of the corps under Mawhood.

Though the number killed, conſidering the nature and warmth of the engagements, was not ſo conſiderable as might have been expected; yet, upon the whole, the three regiments ſuffered ſeverely; their loſs in priſoners amounting to about 200; the killed and wounded were much fewer. The Americans had many more killed, among whom were ſome brave officers, particularly General Mercer belonging to Virginia, who was much eſteemed and lamented.

It cannot eſcape the obſervation of any perſon who has attended to the circumſtances of this war, that the number ſlain on the ſide of the Americans, has in general greatly exceeded that in the royal army. Though every defect in military ſkill, experience, judgment, conduct, and mechanical habit, will in ſome degree account for this circumſtance, yet perhaps it may be more particularly attributed to the imperfect loading of their pieces in the hurry of action, than to any other cauſe; a defect, of all others, the moſt fatal; the moſt difficult to be remedied in a new army; and to which even veterans are not ſufficiently attentive. To this may alſo be

added

added the various make of their ſmall arms, which being procured as chance or opportunity favoured them, from remote and different quarters, were equally different in ſize and bore, which rendered their being fitted with ball upon any general ſcale impracticable. 1776.

This active and unexpected movement, with its ſpirited conſequences, immediately recalled Lord Cornwallis from the Delaware; who was, not without reaſon, alarmed for the ſafety of the troops and magazines at Brunſwick. The Americans, ſtill avoiding a general action, and ſatisfied with their preſent advantages, croſſed the Millſtone river, without any further attempt. In a few days, however, they overrun Eaſt Jerſey as well as the Weſt, ſpreading themſelves over the Rariton, even into Eſſex county, where, by ſeizing Newark, Elizabeth Town, and Woodbridge, they became maſters of the coaſt oppoſite to Staten Iſland. Their principal poſts were taken and ſtrengthened with ſo much judgment, that it was not practicable to diſlodge them. The royal army retained only the two poſts of Brunſwick and Amboy, the one ſituated a few miles up the Rariton, the other point of land at its mouth, and both holding an open communication with New York by ſea. Lord Cornwallis returns from the Delaware to Brunſwick.

Thus by a few well concerted and ſpirited actions, was Philadelphia ſaved, Penſylvania freed from danger, the Jerſeys nearly recovered, and a victorious and far ſuperior army reduced to act upon the defenſive, and for ſeveral months reſtrained within very narrow and inconvenient limits. Theſe actions, and the ſudden recovery from the loweſt ſtate of weakneſs and diſtreſs, to become a formidable enemy in the field, raiſed the character of General Waſhington, as a commander, very high both in Europe and America; and with his preceding and ſubſequent conduct, ſerve all together to give a ſanction to that appellation, which is now pretty generally applied to him, of the American Fabius. Americans over run the Jerſeys.

Nor was this change of affairs to be attributed to any error in the Britiſh Generals, or fault in the troops which they commanded; but depended entirely upon the happy application of a number of powerful and concurring circumſtances, which were far beyond their reach or controul. Though many of theſe were foreſeen and pointed out, by thoſe who from the beginning, either oppoſed in public, or regretted in private, this war, and that others are now obvious to every body, it may not, however, be amiſs to ſpecify ſome of thoſe cauſes which clogged it with particular difficulties.

1776. Among the principal of these may be considered the vast extent of that continent, with its unusual distribution into great tracts of cultivated and savage territory; the long extent of sea coast in front, and the boundless wastes at the back of the inhabited countries, affording resource or shelter in all circumstances; the numberless inaccessible posts, and strong natural barriers, formed by the various combinations or woods, mountains, rivers, lakes and marshes. All these properties and circumstances, with others appertaining to the climates and seasons, may be said to fight the battles of the inhabitants of such countries in a defensive war. To these may be added others less local. The unexpected union, and unknown strength of the colonies; the judicious application of that strength, by suiting the defence to the nature, genius, and ability of the people, as well as to the natural advantages of the country, thereby rendering it a war of posts, surprizes, and skirmishes, instead of a war of battles. To all these may be added, the people's not being bridled by strong cities, nor fettered by luxury to those which were otherwise, so that the reduction of a capital had no effect upon the rest of the province, and the army could retain no more territory than what it occupied, which was again lost as soon as it departed to another quarter.

British and Auxiliary forces keep possession of Brunswick and Amboy, during the remainder of the winter.

During the remaining winter, and the whole of the spring the army under Lord Cornwallis continued much straitened at Brunswick and Amboy, the troops undergoing, with the greatest perseverance and resolution, the hardships of a most severe and unremitting duty; whilst their ranks were thinned by a continued series of skirmishes, which were productive of no real advantage on either side, other than that of inuring the Americans to military service. In a word, every load of forage which was procured, and every article of provision which did not come from New-York, was sought or purchased at the price of blood.

The consequence of the late military outrages in the Jerseys were severely felt in the present change of circumstances. As soon as fortune turned, and the means were in their power, the sufferers of all parties, the well disposed to the royal cause, as well as the neutrals and wavering, now rose as a man to revenge their personal injuries and particular oppressions, and being goaded by a keener spur, than any which a public cause, or general motive could have excited, became its bitterest and most determined enemies. Thus the whole country, with too few exceptions, became hostile; those who were incapable of arms, acting as spies, and keeping a

continual

continual watch for those who bore them; so that the smallest motion could not be made, without its being exposed and discovered, before it could produce its intended effect. Such were the untoward events, that in the winter damped the hopes of a victorious army, and nipped the laurels of a foregoing prosperous campaign. 1776.

Indian war.

We have formerly had occasion to shew, the bad success which invariably attended the repeated attempts that had been made, of calling off the attention and force of the southern colonies from the support of the general alliance to their own immediate defence, by involving them effectually in civil war and domestic contention, either through the means of the well affected in general, the Regulators and Highland emigrants in the Carolinas, or of the Negroes in Virginia. We have also taken some small notice, of the charges made by the insurgents in some of these provinces against their governors, of endeavouring to bring the savages down to further those designs.

The failure of these attempts, was not sufficient to damp the zeal of the British agents among the Indian nations, nor to render them hopeless of still performing some essential service, by engaging these people to make a diversion, and to attack the southern colonies in their back and defenceless parts. The Indians, ever light in act and faith, greedy of presents, and eager for spoil, were not difficultly induced, by a proper application of the one, and the hope of the other, concurring with their own natural disposition, to forget the treaties which they had lately confirmed or renewed with the colonists, and to engage in the design.

It was held out to them, that a British army was to land in West Florida, and after penetrating through the Creek, Chickesaw, and Cherokee countries, and being joined by the warriors of those nations, they were jointly to invade the Carolinas and Virginia, whilst another formidable force by sea and land, was to make a powerful impression on the coasts. Circular letters to the same import, were sent by Mr. Stuart, the principal agent for Indian affairs, to the inhabitants of the back settlements, requiring all the well-affected, as well as all those, who were willing to preserve themselves and their families from the inevitable calamities and destruction of an Indian war, to be in readiness to repair to the royal standard, as soon as it was erected in the Cherokee country, and to bring with them their horses, cattle, and provisions, for all of which they were promised payment. They were likewise required, for their present security,

1776. rity, and future diſtinction from the King's enemies, to ſubſcribe immediately to a written paper, declaratory of their allegiance.

The ſcheme was ſo plauſible, and carried ſuch a probability of ſucceſs, that it ſeemed to have had a very extenſive operation upon the diſpoſition of the Indians, and to have prepared them in a great meaſure for a general confederacy againſt the Colonies. Even the ſix nations, who had before agreed to the obſervance of a ſtrict neutrality, now committed ſeveral ſmall acts of hoſtility, which were afterwards diſowned by their elders and chiefs. The Creek Indians, more violent, began the ſouthern war with all their uſual barbarity, until finding that the expected ſuccours did not arrive, they, with a foreſight uncommon among Indians, ſtopped ſuddenly ſhort, and repenting of what they had done, were, in the preſent ſtate of affairs, eaſily excuſed; and being afterwards applied to for aſſiſtance by the Cherokees, returned for anſwer, that they, the latter, had plucked the thorn out of their foot, and were welcome to keep it.

But the Cherokees fell upon the adjoining colonies with determined fury, carrying, for a part of the ſummer, ruin and deſolation wherever they came, ſcalping and ſlaughtering the people, and totally deſtroying their ſettlements. They were ſoon, however checked, and ſeverely experienced, that things were much altered, ſince the time of their former warfare upon the ſame ground, and that the martial ſpirit now prevalent in the colonies, was extended to their remoteſt frontiers. They were not only repulſed or defeated in every action, by the neighbouring militia of Virginia and the Carolinas, but purſued into their own country, where their towns were demoliſhed, their corn deſtroyed, and their warriors thinned in repeated engagements, until the nation was nearly exterminated, and the wretched ſurvivors were obliged to ſubmit to any terms preſcribed by the victors; while the neighbouring nations of Indians were ſilent and paſſive ſpectators of their calamities.

Nor was this Indian war more fortunate, with reſpect to its effect on the well-affected on thoſe quarters; who are not only ſaid, to a man, to have expreſſed the utmoſt averſion to the authors, and abhorrence of the cruelty of that meaſure, but that ſome of the chief leaders of the tories, avowed a recantation of their former principles, merely upon that account.

It was in the midſt of the buſtle and danger of the war, and when the ſcale of fortune ſeemed to hang heavily againſt them,

them, by the defeat on Long-Iſland, and the reduction of New-York, at a time when a great and invincible force by ſea and land, carried diſmay and conqueſt wherever it directed its courſe, that all the members of the Congreſs ventured to ſign that remarkable treaty of perpetual compact and union between the thirteen revolted colonies, which lays down an invariable ſyſtem of rules or laws, for their government in all public caſes with reſpect to each other in peace or war, and is alſo extended to their commerce with foreign ſtates. This piece, which may be conſidered as a moſt dangerous ſupplement to the Declaration of Independency, was publiſhed under the title of Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union between the thirteen ſpecified ſtates, and has ſince received, as the neceſſary forms would permit, the ſeparate ratification of each colony. Such was in general the ſtate of affairs in America at the cloſe of the year 1776. [*For theſe Articles at large, ſee p.* 200.]

1776.

Oct. 4.

HISTORY

CHAP. XIII.

Campaign of the year 1777 *opens. General Sir William Howe, Lord Cornwallis, and General Tryon, with the Britiſh forces under their command; and the Heſſians under that of General Knyphauſen, take the field; as alſo thoſe of the enemy under the Generals Waſhington, Wooſter, Sullivan, Warren, Mercer, Wayne, Gates, Parſons, and Arnold, with thoſe under Lord Stirling. The different actions, at Peeks's-Kill, Danbury, Egg-Harbour, Amboy, Staten-Iſland, Sandy-Hook, and Ticonderoga. At the River-Elk, Red-Clay Creek, Chad's-Ford, Brandywine, and Germantown. Philadelphia taken. Delaware paſſage obſtructed. The expedition to Billingsfort, Germantown, Red-Bank, and Mud-Iſland. Delaware paſſage opened. Sir William Howe winters in Philadelphia. Waſhington at Valley-Forge.*

1777. WE have already ſhewn the ſtate and ſituation of the armies in America during the winter and greater part of the ſpring. As the ſeaſon opened, and enlarged the field of enterprize, our commanders did not neglect ſeizing thoſe advantages which nature and their naval ſuperiority preſented, in a country deeply interſected by navigable rivers, and continually laid open in other parts by the numberleſs inlets and channels, which the peculiar conſtruction of the iſlands and coaſts, admit in their junction with the ocean and thoſe rivers.

Loyal Provincials embodied, and placed under the command of G. Tryon.

In the mean time a conſiderable body of provincial troops was formed under the auſpices of General Sir William Howe, which by degrees amounted to ſeveral thouſand men, and which under that denomination included, not only American, but Britiſh and Iriſh refugees from the different parts of the continent. This corps was entirely officered, either by thoſe gentlemen, who for their attachment to the royal cauſe had been obliged to abandon their reſpective provinces, or by thoſe who lived under that protection in the New-York iſlands. The new troops were placed for the temporary time of their ſervice, upon the ſame footing as to pay, ſubſiſtence, and

and clothing, with the eſtabliſhed national bodies of the royal army, with the further advantage to the private men and non-commiſſioned officers, that they were entitled to conſiderable allotments of vacant lands at the end of the troubles. This meaſure, beſides its utility in point of ſtrength, afforded ſome preſent proviſion to thoſe, who having loſt every thing in this unhappy conteſt, were now thrown upon the crown, as their only refuge, for ſupport; whilſt on the other ſide, inſtead of their being an heavy and unprofitable burden to the crown, they were placed in a condition which enabled them to become active and uſeful inſtruments in effecting its purpoſes. At the ſame time, this acquiſition of ſtrength, derived from, and growing in the country, carried a moſt flattering appearance, and ſeemed to indicate reſources for the proſecution of the war in the very theatre of action. 1777.

As all new forces muſt of courſe be much fitter for defence, than for active ſervice in the field, ſo it added much to the apparent utility of this meaſure, that the royal provincials could immediately be diſpoſed of to the greateſt advantage, in the protection and defence of New-York and the adjacent iſlands, ſupplying thereby the place of the veteran troops, and affording a free ſcope to the diſtant operations of the grand army. To render this defenſive ſyſtem for the iſlands more complete, Governor Tryon, who, already in his civil capacity commanded the militia, and who had taken the utmoſt pains in its eſtabliſhment, was now placed by the commander in chief at the head of the new corps, under the title and rank of Major-General of the provincials, whereby he was enabled effectually to combine and bring into action the joint force of theſe ſeparate bodies.

The great natural ſtrength of the country, the vicinity of the North River, with its convenience in reſpect to the ſeat of war, had induced the Americans, during the winter, to erect mills and eſtabliſh their principal magazines, in that rough and mountainous tract called the Manor of Courtland. Thus it became their grand repoſitory, and truſting to the ſecurity of this natural citadel, neither induſtry was wanting, nor expence ſpared, in abundantly providing it with immenſe ſupplies of proviſions, forage, and ſtores, of all ſorts. A place, otherwiſe of no importance, called Peek's Hill, which lies about fifty miles up the North River from New-York, ſerved as a kind of port to Courtland Manor, by which it both received proviſions, and diſpenſed ſupplies.

Sir

1777. Sir William Howe was well aware of theſe circumſtances in general, and was as well convinced of the deciſive conſequences which muſt enſue from the cutting off thoſe reſources, which the enemy had with ſuch infinite labour and expence accumulated for the ſupport and proſecution of the war. A general attempt upon Courtland Manor, would not only be dangerous, from the ſtrength of the country, and impracticability of the ground; but muſt from its own nature be rendered abortive; as the length, the parade, and the manner of the preparation, would afford the Americans time and warning to aſſemble their whole force in that quarter; where, if we ſtill perſiſted in our deſign, we muſt fight under every poſſible diſadvantage, and a moral certainty of great loſs; and if they did not chuſe, even upon theſe terms, to hazard an engagement with us, they would have ſufficient time to remove their magazines, before we could bring the point to any deciſion.

Expedition to Peek's Kill.

March 23d. Peek's Kill, was, however, within reach, and the General determined to profit of that circumſtance. Colonel Bird, with a detachment of about 500 men, under the conduct of a frigate of war, and other armed veſſels, was ſent on board ſome tranſports up the North River for that ſervice. The enemy upon the approach of the Britiſh armament, finding, or thinking themſelves, unequal to the defence of the place, and being convinced, that there was no poſſible time to remove any thing but their arms and bodies, ſet fire to the barracks, and principal ſtore-houſes and then retired to a ſtrong paſs at about two miles diſtance, which commanded the entrance into the mountains, and covered a road which led to ſome of the mills and other depoſits. The Britiſh troops upon their landing, perceiving that they could not have time or opportunity to bring off the proviſions or other articles, completed the conflagration. All the magazines were deſtroyed. The troops re-embarked when the ſervice was performed, and the armament, after deſtroying ſeveral ſmall craft laden with proviſions, returned.

This ſervice, however, was far from filling up the outline of the General's deſign. The magazines at Peek's Kill were not of the importance and magnitude which he had been led to expect, and ſomething, if poſſible, muſt ſtill be done, to weaken the enemy by cutting off their reſources. He obtained intelligence, that the Americans had depoſited large quantities of ſtores and proviſions in the town or village of Danbury, and other places in the borders of Connecticut, which lay contiguous to Courtland Manor. An expedition

pedition was accordingly undertaken for the deſtruction of theſe depoſits, the charge of which, as an introduction to his new military command, was committed to Governor Tryon, who was aſſiſted by thoſe active and able officers, Brigadier-General Agnew, and Sir William Erſkine. The expedition was ſaid to be undertaken on a plan of General Tryon, who had flattered himſelf with finding a junction of many provincials in that quarter as ſoon as he ſhould appear with the troops. 1777. April 25.

The detachment appointed to this ſervice conſiſted of about 2000 men, who being paſſed through the Sound, under the convoy of a proper naval armament, were landed near Norwalk in Connecticut, about 20 miles to the Southward of Danbury. As the country was in no ſtate of preparation, nor under any apprehenſion of the deſign, the troops advanced without interruption, and arrived at Danbury the following day. They now perceived that the country was riſing to intercept their return, and as no carriages could be procured, if it had been otherwiſe, to bring off the ſtores and proviſions, they immediately proceeded to the deſtruction of the magazine. In the execution of this prompt ſervice, the town was unavoidably burnt. Expedition to Danbury. Magazines deſtroyed.

The detachment returned on the 27th by the way of Ridgefield. In the mean time the Generals Wooſter, Arnold, and Silliman, having haſtily arrived from different quarters, and collected ſuch militia as were within their reach, endeavoured by every poſſible means to interrupt their march, until a greater force could arrive to ſupport them with effect in the deſign of cutting off their retreat. The firſt of theſe officers hung upon the rear of the detachment, whilſt Arnold, by croſſing the country gained their front, in order to diſpute their paſſage through Ridgefield. Nor could the excellent order and formidable appearance of the Britiſh forces, who had large covering parties well furniſhed with field pieces on their flanks and rear, nor the tumultuary manner in which a militia not very numerous were got together, prevent the Americans, upon every advantage of the ground, from making bold attempts to interrupt the progreſs of the King's army. In one of theſe ſkirmiſhes, Wooſter an experienced Provincial officer, who had ſerved with ſome reputation in the two former wars, at an age approaching cloſely to ſeventy, and in the active exertion of a valour, which ſavoured more of raſhneſs, than of the temperance and diſcretion of that time of life, was mortally wounded, General Wooſter killed.

1777. wounded, and died with the ſame reſolution that he had lived.

The royal forces had only got quit of Wooſter, when they found themſelves engaged with Arnold, who had got poſſeſſion of Ridgefield, and with leſs than an hour's advantage of time, had already thrown up ſome ſort of an entrenchment to cover his front. The courage and diſcipline of the Britiſh troops, would have triumphed over an enemy more equal in force and condition. The village was forced, and the Americans drove back on all ſides. The action was ſharp, and Arnold diſplayed his uſual intrepidity. His horſe having been ſhot within a few yards of our foremoſt ranks, he ſuddenly diſengaged himſelf, and drawing out a piſtol, ſhot the ſoldier dead who was running up to transfix him with his bayonet.

General Tryon lay that night at Ridgefield, and renewed his march on the morning of the 28th. The enemy having been reinforced with troops and cannon, the army was exceedingly harraſſed during this day's march. Every advantageous poſt was ſeized and diſputed, whilſt hovering parties on the flanks and rear, continually endeavoured to diſturb the order of march, and to profit of every difficulty of ground. The army at length gained, in good time, the Hill of Compo, within cannon ſhot of the ſhips. It was then evening, and their ammunition exhauſted, although it is reported, that they had been ſupplied with ſixty rounds a man at their outſet upon the expedition. The forces immediately formed upon the high ground, where the enemy ſeemed more determined and reſolute in their attack that they had been hitherto. In this ſituation, the General ordered the troops to advance, and to charge with their bayonets. This order was executed with ſuch impetuoſity, that the enemy was totally broken, and every thing being prepared at the ſhore for their reception, the troops were embarked without further moleſtation.

Large quantities of corn, flour, and ſalt proviſions, a great number of tents, with various military ſtores and neceſſaries, were deſtroyed in the courſe of this expedition. The loſs of men on the royal ſide, was, as uſual, much leſs conſiderable than could have been expected; the whole, in killed, wounded and miſſing, amounted to 172, of whom more than two thirds were wounded. The general loſs under all theſe heads on the American ſide was more than double, and the number of the ſlain about four to one. On the Britiſh ſide no officer was killed. On theirs, beſides General Wooſ-

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ter, they loſt three colonels, and a Dr. Atwater, a gentleman of conſideration in that country. The number of officers that happened to be in that country, and to aſſemble on the occaſion, was out of all proportion to that of the private men; whilſt the raw and undiſciplined ſtate of the militia, together with their weakneſs and point of number, obliged the former, as well as thoſe volunteer gentlemen who joined them, to uncommon exertions, and to expoſe themſelves in an extraordinary degree. Theſe circumſtances may account for the number of men of rank, in their ſervice who fell on that ſide. 1777.

Upon the whole, the effect of this expedition did not probably anſwer the expectation upon which it was founded. The actual public ſtores at Danbury and other places were far inferior to what they had been ſuppoſed or repreſented; and though much miſchief was done, it may appear doubtful, whether the loſs ſuſtained on the one ſide was equivalent to the riſque encountered on the other. Events, however, are not to be conſidered as teſts of conduct, and it muſt ever be one of the firſt objects with a great general, to render the force of the enemy inefficacious by cutting off their reſources.

It was perhaps in return for this expedition that the Connecticut men not long after paid a viſit to Long-Iſland. Having received intelligence that Commiſſaries had for ſome time been employed on the eaſt end of Long-Iſland, in procuring forage, grain, and other neceſſaries for the Britiſh forces, and that theſe articles were depoſited for embarkation at a little port called Sagg Harbour; the diſtance of that place from New-York, and the weakneſs of the protection, which conſiſted only of a company of foot and an armed ſchooner of twelve guns, afforded encouragement for a deſign to fruſtrate the ſcheme of ſupplying the wants of the army. The principal difficulty and danger lay in paſſing and repaſſing of the Sound, which was continually traverſed by the Britiſh cruizers.

Veſſels and proviſions deſtroyed at Sagg Harbour.

Colonel Meigs, an enterprizing officer, who had attended Arnold in the expedition to Quebec, and had been taken priſoner in the attempt to ſtorm that city, conducted this enterprize. Having paſſed his detachment in whale-boats through the Sound, and landed on the north branch of the Iſland, where it is interſected by a bay that runs in far from the Eaſt end, it ſeems by the account, which is not in that part very clear, as if they had carried their boats over that arm of the land. They, however, embarked again on the

1777. bay, which he croſſed with 139 men, and landed on the fourth branch of the iſland, within four miles of Sagg Harbour. They arrived at the place before day, and notwithſtanding the reſiſtance they met with from the guard and crews of the veſſels, and the vigorous efforts of the ſchooner, which kept up a continued fire of round and grape ſhot at 150 yards diſtance, they fully completed their deſign; having burnt a dozen brigs and ſloops which lay at the wharf, and entirely deſtroyed every thing on the ſhore. They brought off with them about 90 priſoners, conſiſting of the officer who commanded with his men, the commiſſaries and moſt of the maſters and crews of the ſmall veſſels which they deſtroyed. A circumſtance which renders this expedition particularly curious, if a fact, is aſſerted by the Americans. They ſay, that the party returned to Guilford, in Connecticut, in 25 hours from the time of their departure, having during that ſpace, not only effectually completed the deſign of their expedition, but having traverſed no leſs by land and by water, than 90 miles. A degree of expedition, which requires ſome credulity to be admitted; and from whence, if the fact is eſtabliſhed, it would appear that Meigs poſſeſſes no inconſiderable portion of that ſpirit which operates in the Canada expedition.

The ſeaſon for action was now advanced; but from ſome improvidence or inattention unaccounted for, at home, the army was reſtrained from taking the field through the want of tents and field equipage. Lord Cornwallis however made ſhift with the old tents to encamp the forces at Brunſwick on the hills that commanded the Rariton, and along the communications upon that river to Amboy; the example being followed at the latter place by General Vaughan.

This delay was of the utmoſt importance to the Americans. The winter campaign had been principally carried on by detachments of the militia, the greater part of whom returned home when the time of their ſervice was expired. Others more generous, more patient of toil, or more ſanguine in the common cauſe, outſtayed the allotted time, merely from a conſideration of the weakneſs of the army, and the ruin which muſt attend their departure before it was reinforced. In the mean time, the buſineſs of recruiting under an engagement of ſerving during the war, or even for three years, went on but ſlowly. The term of ſervice was contrary to the genius and habits of the people, and the different provinces found the greateſt difficulty in raiſing any thing near the ſtipulated proportion of troops which had been allotted

allotted for each by the Congreſs. In this extremity, the making of draughts from the militia, was looked to in ſeveral as the dernier reſort. Such an act of force, however, upon thoſe who were contending for liberty on the moſt enlarged plans, and who conſidered all the rights of freemen as ſacred, was irkſome and dangerous. Every method was tried to avoid having recourſe to this diſagreeable meaſure and final reſource. In ſome of the colonies the enliſting of apprentices, and of Iriſh indented ſervants was permitted, contrary to former reſolutions and decrees, with a promiſe of indemnification to their maſters. As a farther check upon the increaſe of the force in the Jerſeys, the New-England provinces which abounded with men, were taken up with their domeſtic concerns. An invaſion was expected on the ſide of Canada; Hudſon's-River and Rhode-Iſland afforded continual room for apprehenſion; nor did any expedition againſt Boſton appear at all improbable; eſpecially, as the great number of Britiſh prizes which were brought into that port, had, beſides rendering it an object of the firſt importance, renewed, and even increaſed, if poſſible, the deteſtation and abhorrence with which that people had been long regarded. 1777.

In ſuch circumſtances the advantages of an early campaign, and the benefit which the enemy derived from the delay, were obvious. The fine weather brought reinforcements from all quarters to the Jerſeys. Thoſe who ſhuddered at a winter's campaign grew bold in ſummer; and the certainty of a future winter, had no greater effect than diſtant evils uſually have. Upon this increaſe of ſtrength, towards the latter end of May, General Waſhington quitted his former poſition in the neighbourhood of Morris-Town, and advancing within a few miles of Brunſwick, took poſſeſſion of the ſtrong country along Middle Brook. Advantages derived by General Waſhington.

Upon this ſingle movement, hung a great part of the future events of the war in the Jerſeys. Waſhington turned that advantageous ſituation to every account of which it was capable. His camp, winding along the courſe of the hills, was ſtrongly entrenched, fortified, and well covered with artillery; nor was it better ſecured by its immediate natural or artificial defences, than by the difficulties of approach which the ground in front threw into the way of an enemy. In this ſituation he commanded a view of the Britiſh encampments on the hills of Brunſwick, and of much of the intermediate country towards that place and Amboy.

1777.

Different ſchemes reſpecting the campaign.

The great object of the campaign on the ſide of New-York ſeems to have been, that Sir William Howe ſhould have penetrated through the Jerſeys to the Delaware, driving Waſhington before him, ſo as to clear thoſe provinces entirely of the enemy, at the ſame time reducing the inhabitants to ſo effectual a ſtate of ſubjection, as to eſtabliſh a ſafe and open communication between that city and the army. If in the proſecution of this deſign the enemy hazarded a battle, nothing was more wiſhed, nor could any great doubt be entertained of ſucceſs; or if they conſtantly retired, which was more to be expected, the conſequences in regard to the general objects would be nearly the ſame, and the army having by the reduction of the Jerſeys, left every thing ſafe in its rear, and ſecured the paſſage of the Delaware, would of courſe become maſters of Philadelphia, which from its ſituation was incapable of any effectual defence, and could only be protected by Waſhington, at the certain expence and hazard of a battle.

In this manner ſeveral conceived and reaſoned on the operations in Jerſey. Others were clearly of opinion, that the bringing of Waſhington to a deciſive action upon terms of any tolerable equality with regard to ground, in ſuch a country and againſt his inclinations, was a thing impracticable. That if he could not be brought to ſuch an action in ſuch a manner, ſo as wholly to drive him out of the Jerſeys, the attempt to paſs a river like the Delaware, full of armed veſſels in its ſtream, ſtrong forts in its iſlands, great obſtructions in its channels, with an enemy in front, and leaving a ſtreng army in rear, would be a very unadviſed enterprize: and the failure in it would be the total and immediate ruin of the royal cauſe in America.

On the other hand, if the obſtacles in the Jerſeys were found ſo great that they could not be overcome without much loſs of time and expence of blood, it was thought adviſeable, in thoſe circumſtances, to profit of the powerful naval force, and the infinite number of tranſports and veſſels of all ſorts which lay at New-York; to combine this powerful auxiliary (which had hitherto produced ſuch ſignal advantages, in every inſtance where it could be brought into action) with the land force, and by conveying the army by ſea to the place of its deſtination, to elude all thoſe difficulties by which the paſſage through the Jerſeys might be clogged. In this alternative, the object was ſtill the ſame, the means of attaining it being only changed. Philadelphia was the immediate point in view. If that object was properly choſen, and

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the general opinion at that time pointed it out as the moſt eligible, the paſſage by ſea ſeemed the moſt ſecure of its effects, though unqueſtionably the ſloweſt in the operation. The Delaware, or the great bay of Cheſapeak, opened the way into the heart of the richeſt and beſt of the central colonies, and led either directly, or by croſſing a country of no great extent, to the poſſeſſion of that place. That point gained, Philadelphia was to become the place of arms, and center of action, whilſt every part of the three hoſtile and flouriſhing Provinces of Penſylvania, Virginia, and Maryland, would, from their deep bays and navigable rivers, be expoſed to the combined powerful action, and continual operation of the land and marine force. However, before this plan was adopted, as we ſhall ſee, meaſures were taken in the Jerſeys, if poſſible, to bring Waſhington to an action. 1777.

The operations in the ſouthern or central provinces, however efficacious or extenſive, did not, by any means, include all the great objects of the campaign. Something was of courſe to be expected on the ſide of Canada, where a very conſiderable army had been collected, and by the ſucceſs of the laſt campaign on the lakes, had a way opened for it to penetrate into the back parts of the New-England and New-York provinces. The command in this expedition was committed to General Burgoyne, who was reported to be author of the plan. The great body was to be ſeconded by a leſſer expedition from the upper part of Canada, by the way of Oſwego to the Mohawk River. This ſcheme was eagerly adopted by the Miniſters, who founded the greateſt hopes upon its ſucceſs. All the advantages that had ever been expected from the complete poſſeſſion of Hudſon's River, the eſtabliſhment of a communication between the two armies, the cutting off the intercourſe between the Northern and Southern Colonies, with the conſequent opportunity of cruſhing the former, detached and cut off from all aſſiſtance, it was now hoped would have been realized. The greater hopes were conceived of it, from the opinion entertained of the effect of the ſavages on the minds of the Americans. It was known, that the Provincials in general were in great dread of them, from their cruel and deſolating manner of making war. Theſe were therefore collected at great expence, and with much labour, from all parts of the continent. In a word, this expedition ſeemed to become the favourite object of the preſent year.

1777. The tents and field equipage, with a body of Anſpach troops, and a number of Britiſh and German recruits, having at length arrived at New-York by the beginning of June, the General, Sir William Howe, paſſed over to the Jerſeys, and took the field about the middle of that month. The enemy were now in a ſtrong ſtate of defence. Waſhington's army, beſides the advantages it derived from the inacceſſible poſts which it occupied, was become more conſiderable as to number and force. Several bodies of the New-England troops, under the Generals Gates, Parſons, and Arnold, advanced to the borders of the North River, where they were ready to paſs over to the Jerſeys, whenever opportunity invited their action, or the neceſſity of their friends demanded their aſſiſtance. At the ſame time, the Jerſey militia aſſembled from every quarter with the greateſt alacrity, ſo that in every poſition it took, and motion it made, the army was watched and environed by enemies.

The General left nothing untried that could provoke Waſhington to an engagement, and no meaſure uneſſayed that could induce him to quit his poſition. He puſhed on detachments; and made movements, as if he intended to paſs him, and advance to the Delaware. This manœuvre proving ineffectual, he advanced in the front of his lines, where he continued for four days, exploring the approaches to his camp, and accurately examining the ſituation of his poſts, hoping that ſome weak or unguarded part might be found, upon which an attack could be ventured with a probability of ſucceſs, or that, in the nearneſs of the armies, chance, inadvertence, impatience, or error, might occaſion ſome movement, or be productive of ſome circumſtances, which would open the way to a general engagement. All theſe hopes were fruſtrated. Waſhington knew the full value of his ſituation. As he had too much temper to be provoked or ſurprized, into a dereliction of his advantages, ſo he had too much penetration to loſe them by circumvention or ſleight. And he had too long profited of that rule of conduct from which he had not once hitherto deviated during the courſe of the troubles, of never committing the fortune of America to the hazard of a ſingle action, to depart from it upon this occaſion, when it was not even demanded by any urgent neceſſity.

Sir William Howe did not yet ſeem to have abandoned his deſign, of enticing Waſhington to quit his faſtneſſes. He ſuddenly retreated, and with ſome apparent marks of precipitation, from his poſition in the front of the enemy, and with-

withdrawing his troops from Brunſwick, returned with the whole army towards Amboy. If the General's deſign was what we have ſuppoſed, this movement produced all the immediate effect which he could have expected. The army was eagerly purſued by ſeveral large bodies of the American regular forces as well as of the Jerſey militia, under the command of the Generals Maxwel, Lord Sterling, and Conway; the latter of whom was a Colonel of the Iriſh Brigade, and one of that numerous train of officers in the French ſervice, who had taken an active part againſt Great Britain in this unhappy civil war. 1777.

Such trifling advantages as the beſt regulated retreat muſt afford to the purſuers, and ſome exceſſes committed, perhaps with a view to the general deſign, by the retiring ſoldiers, ſerved to increaſe the ardour, and inflame the paſſions of the Americans. The meaſures, which the General immediately adopted at Amboy compleated the deluſion. The bridge which was intended for the Delaware, was thrown over the channel which ſeparates the Continent from Staten iſland. The heavy baggage, and all the incumbrances of the army, were paſſed over. Some of the troops followed, and every thing was in immediate preperation for the paſſage of the reſt of the army. By theſe judicious meaſures, if the immediate deſign failed of effect, every thing was forwarded as much as it could be for the intended embarkation; a meaſure of which the Americans had as yet no knowledge.

Every thing concurred, along with the vanity natural to mankind, in inducing the Americans to believe, that the retreat was not only real, but that it proceeded from a knowledge of their ſuperiority, and a dread of their power: Even Waſhington himſelf, with all his caution and penetration, was ſo far impoſed upon by the feint, that he quitted his ſecure poſts upon the Hills, and advanced to a place called Quibble-town, to be the nearer at hand for the protection or ſupport of his advanced parties.

The Britiſh General loſt no time in endeavouring to profit of thoſe circumſtances. He immediately marched the army back by different routes, from Amboy. He had three objects in view. To cut off ſome of the principal advanced parties; to come up with, and bring the enemy to an engagement in the neighbourhood of Quibbletown; or, if this deſign, through the celerity of the enemy, failed in the effect, it was intended that Lord Cornwallis, who, with his column, was to take a conſiderable circuit to the right, ſhould, by turning the enemy's left, take poſſeſſion of ſome

Turns ſuddenly and advances upon the enemy.

1777. passes in the mountains, which, by their situation and command of ground, would have reduced them to a necessity of abandoning that strong camp, which had hitherto afforded them so advantageous a security.

Skirmishes. Lord Cornwallis having dispersed the smaller advanced parties of the enemy, fell in at length with Lord Sterling, who with about 3000 men, strongly posted in a woody country, and well covered by artillery judiciously disposed, not only lay full in his way, but shewed a determination to dispute his passage with vigour and firmness. The ardour excited upon this occasion by an emulation between the British and Hessian troops was conspicuous and irresistible. All obstacles gave way to their impetuosity in pressing forward, to try who should obtain the honour of first coming to a close engagement with the enemy. The party of Americans first attacked, unable to withstand the shock, were soon routed on all sides, having sustained, besides no inconsiderable loss in men, that of three pieces of brass ordnance, which were taken by the British Guards, and the Hessian grenadiers. The pursuit was continued as far as Westfield, but the woods, and the intense heat of the weather, prevented its effect.

Americans under Lord Sterling defeated.

Washington regains his strong camp. In the mean time, General Washington soon perceived, and as speedily remedied his error, by withdrawing his army from the plains, and again recovering his strong camp on the hills. At the same time, penetrating into Lord Cornwallis's further design, he secured those passes in the mountains, the possession of which by the British troops, would have exposed him to the necessity of a critical change of position, which could not have been executed without danger.

Royal army pass over to Staten-Island. Thus was this, apparently well concerted scheme of bringing the enemy to an action, or at least of withdrawing them from their strong holds, rendered abortive, by the caution and prudence of General Washington. Sir William Howe was now convinced, that he was too firmly attached to his defensive plan of conducting the war, to be induced by any means, other than by some very clear and decided advantage, to hazard a general engagement. Nothing then remained to be done in the Jerseys. To advance to the Delaware, through a country entirely hostile, and with such a force in his rear, appeared to the British commanders no better than madness. All delay was therefore not only fruitless, but a waste of that time and season, which might be employed to great advantage elsewhere. The General accordingly returned with the army to Amboy, on the second day from its departure

departure on the expedition, and paſſed it over on the next to Staten Iſland, from whence the embarkation was intended to take place. 1777.

The preparations for this grand expedition excited a general alarm throughout the Continent. Boſton, the North River, the Delaware, Cheſapeak Bay, and even Charles-Town, were alternately held to be its objects. General Waſhington, in purſuance of the intelligence which he continually received from New-York, and the other iſlands, was conſtantly diſpatching expreſſes to put thoſe places upon their guard, againſt which, from immediate information, he ſuppoſed for the time the ſtorm to be directed. It was one of the manifeſt advantages of proceeding by ſea, that it was impoſſible for Waſhington directly to know where the ſtorm would fall. He muſt therefore keep his poſition; and the King's army muſt neceſſarily make a conſiderable progreſs towards its object, before he could be in a condition to reſiſt them; and ſuch a progreſs would not leave him that choice of poſts, by which hitherto he had avoided a general action. Alarm excited by the preparations for the grand expedition.

During the ceſſation procured by preparation on the one ſide, and apprehenſion on the other, a ſpirited adventure on the ſide of Rhode Iſland, not only retaliated the ſurprize of General Lee, but ſeemed to procure an indemnification for his perſon. Colonel Barton, a Provincial, with ſeveral other officers and volunteers, paſſed by night from Providence to Rhode Iſland, and though they had a long paſſage by water, they eluded the watchfulneſs of the ſhips of war and guard boats which ſurrounded the iſland, and conducted their enterprize with ſuch ſilence, boldneſs, and dexterity, that they ſurprized Gen. Preſcot, who commanded in chief, in his quarters, and brought him and his Aid-de-Camp, through all thoſe perils, ſafe to the Continent. This little adventure produced much exultation on the one ſide, and more regret than it ſeemed to deſerve on the other, from the influence which it muſt neceſſarily have on the deſtination of General Lee. It was, however, particularly galling and grievous to General Preſcot, who not long before had carried matters to ſuch a length, as to ſet a price upon Arnold, and offer a reward for taking his perſon, as if he had been a common out-law or robber; an inſult which Arnold immediately returned, by ſetting an inferior price upon the General's perſon. General Preſcot carried off from Rhode-Iſland.

Some time previous to theſe tranſactions, the Congreſs had found it neceſſary to advance the rate of intereſt upon the large loan which they propoſed for the ſervice and upon Rate of intereſt upon the public loan.

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1777. the credit of the united Provinces, from four, which was first offered, to six per cent. As a testimony of public gratitude, and a future incitement to, what they considered or held out, as virtue and patriotism, they ordered, that a monument should be erected at Boston, in honour of Major General Warren, who commanded and fell in the engagement at Bunker's Hill, and another in Virginia, in honour of Brigadier General Mercer, who was slain in the action near Prince-Town; the resolution conveying in a very few words, the highest eulogium on the character and merits of the deceased. They likewise decreed, that the eldest son of the former of these gentlemen, and the youngest son of the latter, should be educated at the expence of the United States. As Mercer had a good landed estate, the propriety of adopting his youngest son as the child of the public is obvious.

Monuments decreed for the Generals Warren and Mercer.

Notwithstanding the preparations that had already been made for the embarkation, and the assistance afforded by the crews of near 300 vessels, yet such are the unavoidable delays incident to such operations when at all extensive, that it was not until the 23d of July that the fleet and army were able to depart from Sandy Hook. In order more effectually to perplex and deceive the enemy, the General ordered some transports, with a ship cut down to act as a floating battery, up the North River, a little before the embarkation was completed; a feint which succeeded so far as to induce Washington to detach a considerable body of his army across that river.

Fleet and army depart from Sandy Hook.

The force that embarked upon the expedition consisted of 36 British and Hessian battalions, including the light infantry and grenadiers, with a powerful artillery, a New-York corps called the Queen's Rangers, and a regiment of light horse. Seventeen battalions, with a regiment of light horse, and the remainder of the new Provincial corps, were left for the protection of New-York, and the adjoining islands. Rhode island was occupied by seven battalions. So much was the active force of the army restrained, by the possession, which it was, however, indispensably necessary to hold, of these important posts. It is said, that the General intended to have taken a greater force with him upon the expedition; but that upon the representations of General Clinton, who was to command in his absence, of the danger to which the islands would be exposed, from the extensiveness of their coasts, and the great number of posts that were necessarily to be maintained, he acknowledged the force of these arguments by relanding several regiments.

Force embarked on the expedition.

Whilst

1777.

Whilſt both Gen. Waſhington and the Congreſs were ſufficiently engaged, by their attention to the movements, and apprehenſion of the deſigns of the powerful fleet and army which was conducted by the brother Generals and Commiſſioners, the rapid progreſs of General Burgoyne on the ſide of the Lakes, and the unaccountable conduct of their commanders in abandoning Ticonderoga, were events ſo alarming and unexpected, that they could not fail to perplex their counſels, and conſiderably to impede their defenſive preparations in other parts. The Congreſs behaved with firmneſs in this exigency. They immediately iſſued orders for a recal to head quarters, and an enquiry into the conduct of the general officers who had abandoned Ticonderoga; they directed Waſhington to appoint other commanders; and they likewiſe directed him to ſummon ſuch numbers of the militia from the eaſtern and central provinces for the northern ſervice, as he ſhould deem ſufficient for reſtraining the progreſs of the enemy.

Congreſs and Waſhington alarmed by the loſs of Ticonderoga.

The voyage was far from being favourable to the fleet and army, engaged on the expedition. It coſt them a week to gain the Capes of Delaware. The information which the commanders received there, of the meaſures taken by the enemy for rendering the navigation of that river impracticable, afforded ſo little encouragement to the proſecution of their deſign by that way, that it was given up, and a paſſage by Cheſapeak Bay, to that part of Maryland, which lies to the Eaſt of that vaſt inlet, and not at a very great diſtance to the South-Weſt of Philadelphia, was adopted in its place, as preſenting fewer obſtacles to their operations. The winds were ſo contrary in this part of the voyage, that the middle of Auguſt was turned before they entered Cheſapeak Bay; a circumſtance highly inconvenient and irkſome in that hot ſeaſon of the year, with ſo great a number of men and horſes, crowded and cooped up in the veſſels; but which muſt have been attended with the moſt fatal conſequences, if the foreſight of the commanders had not guarded againſt every event by the unbounded proviſion they had made for the voyage, as a failure in any one article, even that of water, would have been probably irremediable.

Fleet arrives at the River Elk.

The winds fortunately proved fair in the bay, ſo that the fleet gained the mouth of the River Elk near its extremity, in ſafety, through a moſt intricate and dangerous navigation for ſuch a multitude of veſſels, in which the Admiral performed the different parts of a commander, inferior officer, and pilot, with his uſual ability and perſeverance. Having proceeded

1777. ceeded up the Elk as far as it was capable of admitting their paſſage, the army was at length relieved from its long and tireſome confinement on board the tranſports, being landed without any oppoſition at Elk Ferry, in a degree of health and condition which could ſcarcely have been expected on the 25th of Auguſt. Whilſt one part of the army advanced to the head of Elk, the other continued at the landing place, to protect and forward the artillery, ſtores, and neceſſary proviſions, the General not permitting the troops to be much incumbered with baggage; indeed the ſcarcity of carriage rendered even a great abridgment in the article of tents neceſſary.

Waſhington returns to the defence of Philadelphia.

In the mean time, Gen. Waſhington, with the army from the Jerſeys, had returned to the defence of Philadelphia, and upon advice of the deſcent at Elk, advanced to the Brandywine Creek, or River, which, croſſing the country about half way to that city, falls into the Delaware. Their force, including the militia, amounted to 15,000 men, which was probably about the number, making the neceſſary allowance for poſts and communications, that the royal army could bring into action.

Declaration iſſued by the General.

Sir William Howe, in order to quiet and conciliate the minds of the people in Penſylvania, the Delaware Counties, and the adjacent parts of Maryland, and to prevent a total deſertion and deſolation of the country in the front of the army, publiſhed a declaration, in which he promiſed, that the ſtricteſt regularity, good order and diſcipline, ſhould be obſerved by the army, and the moſt perfect ſecurity and effectual protection afforded to all his Majeſty's peaceable and well diſpoſed ſubjects; extending at the ſame time this ſecurity and protection to ſuch perſons, who not having been guilty of aſſuming legiſlative or judicial authority, might otherwiſe have acted illegally in ſubordinate ſtations, upon the proviſo of their immediate return to their habitations, and peaceable demeanor for the future. He alſo offered a free and general pardon to all officers and ſoldiers in arms, who ſhould ſurrender themſelves to the royal army.

It was not till the 3d of September, that the army was enabled to quit the head of Elk, and purſue its courſe towards Philadelphia. In the mean time the enemy had advanced from the Brandywine, and taken poſt on Red Clay Creek, from whence they puſhed detachments forward, to occupy difficult poſts in the woods, and to interrupt, by continual ſkirmiſhes, the line of march. As the country was difficult, woody, and not well known, and that the genius of the enemy

enemy lay to profit of ſuch circumſtances, the General advanced ſlowly, and with extraordinary caution. He was from neceſſity, as well as diſpoſition, ſparing of his troops. Recruits were brought from a prodigious diſtance, and procured with difficulty even at the ſource. Every man killed, wounded, or taken, was to him an irreparable loſs, and ſo far as it went, an incurable weakening of the army, for the preſent year at leaſt. On the other hand, the enemy were at home. Every loſs they ſuffered was not only immediately repaired, but the military ability of the ſurvivors was increaſed by every deſtruction of their fellows. 1777.

This caution could not, however, prevent ſome ſhirmiſhes, in which the royal forces were almoſt always victorious. It does not appear that the Americans made all the uſe that might be expected of the advantage which the country afforded for harraſſing and impeding the progreſs of the Britiſh army. After ſeveral movements on both ſides, the enemy retired beyond the Brandywine, where they took poſſeſſion of the heights, and covered the fords, with an evident intention of diſputing the paſſage of that river.

In this ſituation the Britiſh army, at day break, advanced in two columns towards the enemy. The right, under the command of Gen. Knyphauſen, marched directly to Chad's Ford, which lay in the center of the enemy's line, where they expected, and were prepared for the principal attack; their right and left covering other leſs practicable fords and paſſages for ſome miles on either hand. A heavy cannonade commenced on both ſides about ten o'clock, which was well ſupported during the day, whilſt the General, to amuſe and deceive the enemy, made repeated diſpoſitions for forcing the Ford, the paſſage of the river ſeeming to be his immediate and determined object. To impede or fruſtrate this deſign, they had paſſed ſeveral detachments to the other ſide, who, after a courſe of ſkirmiſhes, ſometimes advancing, and at others obliged to retire, were at length finally, with an eager purſuit, driven over the river. Thus the noiſe and ſemblance of a battle was held up, and the expectation kept continually alive to the moſt immediate and deciſive conſequences. Sept. 11. Advances to the Brandywine, and to Red-Clay Creek.

Whilſt the attention of the Americans was thus fully occupied in the neighbourhood of Chad's Ford, and that they ſuppoſed the royal force was in their front, Lord Cornwallis, at the head of the ſecond column, took a long circuitous march to the left, until he gained the Forks of the Brandywine, where the diviſion of the river rendered it of courſe more Various movements on both ſides.

1777. more practicable. By this very judicious movement, his Lordship passed both branches of the river at Trimbles, and at Jeffery's Ford, without opposition or difficulty, about two o'clock in the afternoon, and then turning short down the river, took the road to Dilworth, in order to fall upon the enemy's right.

General Washington having, however, received intelligence of this movement about noon, endeavoured, as well as he could, to provide against its effect, by detaching General Sullivan with all the force he could venture to withdraw from the main body, to oppose Lord Cornwallis. Sullivan shewed a considerable share of judgment and ability in the execution of this commission. He took a very strong position on the commanding grounds above Birmingham church, with his left extending towards the Brandywine, his artillery advantageously disposed, and both flanks covered with very thick woods.

Action at the Brandywine.

As this disposition obliged Lord Cornwallis to form a line of battle, it was about four o'clock before the action began. Neither the good disposition of the enemy, the advantages of situation, nor a heavy and well supported fire of small arms and artillery, were at all sufficient to restrain the impetuosity of the British and Hessian troops. The light infantry, chasseurs, grenadiers, and guards, rushing on through all obstacles and dangers, drove the enemy, in spite of all their efforts, though not without a spirited opposition, from their posts, and pursued them pellmell into the woods on their rear. In the mean time, a part of the enemy's right, which had not been broken, took a second strong position in a wood on the same side, from whence, after some considerable resistance, they were dislodged and pursued by detachments from the second line.

Several bodies of the troops that were first engaged, got so deeply entangled in the woods through the eagerness of pursuit, that they were not able to rejoin the army before night. In the mean time, as the main and collected body continued advancing, they came upon a corps of the enemy which had not yet been engaged, and which had taken possession of a strong post, to cover the retreat of the defeated wing of their army. A very warm engagement now ensued, and this post was so vigorously defended, that it was some time after dark before it could be forced. The darkness, the uncertainty of the ground, of General Knyphausen's situation, together with the extreme fatigue which the troops had undergone, in a long march and severe action, which had scarcely admitted

of

of the ſmalleſt reſpite during the whole courſe of the day, all concurred in preventing the army from purſuing its advantages any farther. 1777.

General Knyphauſen, after ſucceſsfully amuſing the enemy all day with the apprehenſion of an attack which he did not intend, made his paſſage good in the evening, when he found that they were already deeply engaged on the right. He carried the entrenchment, and took the battery and cannon, which defended and covered Chad's Ford. At this inſtant, ſome of the Britiſh troops, who had been entangled in, and had penetrated through the woods, threw the enemy into ſuch a confuſion, that an immediate retreat, or rather flight, took place in all parts. The lateneſs and darkneſs of the evening, prevented a purſuit here, as it had done on the right.

General Knyphauſen makes an attack at Chad's Ford. Lord Cornwallis attacks the enemy's right.

A few hours more daylight would have been undoubtedly productive of a total and ruinous defeat to the Americans.

A part of their troops, among whom were particularly numbered ſome of the Virginia regiments, and the whole corps of artillery, behaved exceeding well in ſome of the actions of this day, exhibiting a degree of order, firmneſs, and reſolution, and preſerving ſuch a countenance in extremely ſharp ſervice, as would not have diſcredited veterans. Some other bodies of their troops behaved very badly. Their loſs was very conſiderable, which probably was the cauſe that it was not particularly ſpecified in their own accounts. In the Gazette it was computed, at about 300 killed, 600 wounded, and near 400 taken priſoners. They alſo loſt ten ſmall field pieces, and a howitzer, of which all, but one, were braſs.

Loſs on both ſides.

The loſs in the royal army was not in proportion, being ſomething under five hundred, of which the ſlain did not amount to one fifth. The officers ſuffered conſiderably, eſpecially in wounded, though no one of higher rank than a captain was killed. The enemy retreated firſt to Cheſter, and on the next day to Philadelphia. The victorious army lay that night on the field of battle.

Waſhington, ſo far as we can judge at this diſtance, ſeems to have been more out-generalled in this action, than any other ſince the beginning of the war. This concluſion is not, however, to be conſidered as eſtabliſhed; as we are ſenſible that it may be well queſtioned, from the premiſes even before us. The defence of ſuch a length of river, interſected with fords, and ſome at remote diſtances, was undoubtedly impracticable. If it be aſked then why the attempt

Reflections on the action.

1777. tempt was made, it may be anſwered, that his great object was to harraſs, and to interrupt the progreſs of the royal army to Philadelphia, by every poſſible means, which did not involve his own in the riſque of a general engagement; that even a ſuperior loſs of men, was not to be conſidered by him, to whom perhaps it was neceſſary to learn, even by a dangerous experiment, the improvement and ſtate of his own troops. His choice of a poſt on the Brandywine, in preference to thoſe more defenſible that were nearer to Philadelphia, has been cenſured; but how far this choice was altogether in his power does not fully appear. And, however difficult he was in point of intelligence, with reſpect to Lord Cornwallis's movement, he ſhewed great ability in his endeavours to remedy that negligence, by the prompt and judicious meaſures which he took to cover his right. Whatever the merits or demerits were on this ſide of the queſtion, it muſt be acknowledged, that the movements of the royal army were judicious and maſterly.

Motions of the armies.

The preſent unhappy conteſt was ſo intereſting to foreigners, and rendered America ſo conſpicuous a theatre of action, that it drew bold and enterprizing ſpirits, from different parts of Europe, either merely in ſearch of glory and rank, or to acquire military experience and improvement. Among the numerous inſtances of this nature which might be given, a few are neceſſary, and will be ſufficient. The Marquis de la Fayette, a young French nobleman, of the firſt rank, and of large fortune, was ſo carried away by this enthuſiaſm, as to purchaſe and freight a ſhip with military ſtores (in which he embarked with ſeveral of his friends) for the ſervice of the Americans; he bore a command, and was wounded in this action. The Baron St. Ovary, another French volunteer, for whoſe releaſe the Congreſs ſhewed a particular attention, was ſoon after made a priſoner. De Coudry, a French General, was about this time drowned in the Schuylkill, through his eagerneſs to come in time into action. Roche de Fermoy, was a member of the council of war, who had ſigned the reſolution for abandoning Ticonderoga. Pulawſki, a noble Pole, commanded a detachment of American light-horſe in the action of the Brandywine. Count Grabouſkie, another Poliſh nobleman, was about the ſame time killed on the North River, exhibiting great intrepidity on the Britiſh ſide, and beſtowing his laſt breath in encomiums on the undaunted courage diſplayed by the partners of his danger, and witneſſes of his fall.

It

It is to be obſerved, that in the battle of the Brandywine, the provincial forces were met in the field, and with no very great advantage of ſituation. A victory was clearly obtained over them; but it was not of that final and deciſive kind which the public had expected as the certain conſequence of ſuch a meeting. People rarely conſider how much trivial and accidental circumſtances render all things of this kind extremely uncertain, even with any ſuperiority of troops, or goodneſs of generalſhip. 1777.

Notwithſtanding the victory of the king's troops, and the precipitate flight of the enemy, the royal army proceeded with caution and circumſpection; and it did not ſeem unneceſſary; for the enemy did not ſeem diſheartened; and Mr. Waſhington exerted himſelf with ability and diligence to repair his defeat. The army was poſted in the neighbourhood of Concord and Aſhtown, whilſt a detachment was ſent to ſeize on Wilmington which was made a receptacle for the ſick and wounded. Upon a movement towards Goſhen, the General received intelligence upon his march, that the enemy had quitted Philadelphia, and were advanced upon the Lancaſter road, a few miles above that place. Upon this advice, he took ſuch effectual meaſures for bringing them to an immediate engagement, that nothing but the event which followed could have fruſtrated his deſign. An exceſſive fall of rain, which overtook both armies upon their march, and which continued without any intermiſſion for 24 hours, rendered both parties equally and totally incapable of action. Motions of the armies.

In the courſe of a number of movements on both ſides, which took place for ſome days after, and in which every meaſure was ineffectually uſed, to involve the enemy in ſimilar circumſtances to thoſe which they had ſo lately and with ſuch loſs eſcaped, intelligence having been received, that general Wayne, with 1500 men, was lying in the woods upon ſome ſcheme of enterprize, in the rear, and at no great diſtance from the left wing of the army, Major-General Grey was detached at night, with 2 regiments, and a body of light infantry, to ſurprize that corps. That General conducted the enterprize with equal ability and ſucceſs; and, perhaps, in emulation of a remarkable action of the late war in Germany, took effectual meaſures that a ſingle ſhot ſhould not be fired in the courſe of the expedition, and that the execution ſhould only be done by the point of the bayonet. In the proſecution of this deſign, the enemy's out-poſts and pickets were compleatly ſurprized and forced without noiſe, about one in the morning, and the troops being guided by the light Major-General Grey defeats G. Wayne. Sep. 20.

1777. of their fires, ruſhed in upon the encampment, where a ſevere and ſilent execution took place, about 300 being killed or wounded upon the ſpot, and a number of priſoners taken; the remainder eſcaping by the darkneſs of the night, and ſome prudent diſpoſitions made by the officer who commanded the Americans, with the loſs of the greater part of their baggage, arms, and ſtores. The victors, in this briſk action, loſt only a captain of light infantry and three private men, with about the ſame number wounded.

Royal army advance to German-Town.

The General finding that the enemy could not by any means be brought to action, and that they were evidently abandoning even the protection of the capital, rather than hazard that final deciſion, made ſuch movements and took ſuch poſitions as gave him the command of the Schuylkill, and enabled him, at length, to paſs the army over that river without oppoſition. There being nothing now to impede his progreſs, the army advanced to German Town, and Lord Cornwallis, on the next morning, took poſſeſſion of Philadelphia. Thus was the rich and flouriſhing city of Philadelphia, the capital late of the moſt riſing colony, and attended with the moſt ſingular circumſtances, that hiſtory can give any example of, and the ſeat of that General Congreſs of delegates, who diſpenſed laws and government to the continent of North America, reduced without oppoſition, and conſequently without damage.

—— 26.

L. Cornwallis takes poſſeſſion of Phi'adelphia.

This circumſtance was more fortunate than had been expected; for it was even ſpoken of by themſelves as a ſettled and fixed determination, to deſtroy the city, whenever it was found that it could be no longer protected, rather than ſuffer it to become a place of arms, and the center of operation to the Britiſh fleets and armies. A number of the Quakers, and ſome other of the principal inhabitants of Philadelphia, to the amount of more than twenty, who had been juſtly conſidered as ſtrongly attached to the royal cauſe, and violently inimical to the preſent ruling powers, had been taken into cuſtody upon the immediate danger of an invaſion. Theſe gentlemen poſitively refuſed to give any ſecurity in writing, or even verbal atteſtation, of attachment, ſubmiſſion, or allegiance, to the preſent government, or of not holding a correſpondence with thoſe whom they repreſented as enemies. They even refuſed to confine themſelves to their reſpective dwelling-houſes, and boldly appealing to the laws for redreſs and ſecurity to their perſons, ſtrongly reproached thoſe, who under the pretence of aſſerting and protecting the liberties of the ſubject, had involved the whole continent in civil war and contention,

Some of the principal inhabitants ſent priſoners to Virginia.

contention, and who thus, at the ſame time, in the moſt arbitrary and tyrannical manner, deprived him of his perſonal liberty, and of every ſecurity which he derived from the laws. They were anſwered, that the laws themſelves, and all other conſiderations muſt give way to the public ſafety, in caſes of great and imminent danger; that there was no new or particular hardſhip in the preſent meaſure, which was juſtified by the practice of all ſtates in ſimilar circumſtances; that in England, in its higheſt ſtate of freedom, and under its happieſt governments, the Habeas Corpus law was ſuſpended in caſes of internal commotion, or the apprehenſion of foreign invaſion; that there, ſuſpicion only was a ſufficient ground for ſecuring the perſon of the ſubject, without regard to rank, quality, or any ſecurity he might propoſe to give for his peaceable demeanour; but that their ſituation was much more favourable to themſelves, if their incorrigible obſtinacy, their dangerous deſigns againſt the ſtate, and their mortal enmity to the government, had not precluded them from its benefit; they were not retained in priſon merely upon ſuſpicion, however ſtrong and well founded that was, and however juſtifiable the meaſure would be upon that ground only; it was immediately in their power to return in the moſt unreſtrained liberty to their habitations, only by complying with that very moderate teſt of their principles and conduct which was required, and ſhewing that obedience to government, and good diſpoſition to the ſtate, which every member of ſociety owed to the community to which he belonged, as a return for the protection which he received. But that as they denied all allegiance to the ſtate, they of courſe diſclaimed its protection, and forfeited all the privileges of citizen-ſhip; whilſt by refuſing every ſecurity for their peaceable demeanour, they could only be conſidered as its moſt dangerous and determined enemies. As theſe gentlemen were unconquerable in their reſolution not to ſubmit to the propoſed teſt, they were all ſent off to Staunton, in Virginia, as a place of ſecurity, upon the approach of the royal army. 1777.

As ſoon as Lord Howe had received intelligence of the ſucceſs at the Brandywine, and the determined progreſs of the army to Philadelphia, he took the moſt ſpeedy and effectual meaſures for conducting the fleet and tranſports round to the Delaware, not only to be at hand to concur in the active operations of the campaign, but to ſupply the army with thoſe proviſions, ſtores, and neceſſaries, which he knew, muſt by that time have been indiſpenſably neceſſary. The voyage was intricate, tedious, and dangerous; and nothing leſs than

1777. the ſuperior ſkill and ability which was exerted, in the conduct and management of ſo great a number of ſhips, could have prevented the loſs from being conſiderable. As the paſſage to Philadelphia, was yet impracticable, the fleet drew up and anchored along the weſtern or Penſylvania ſhore, from Reedy Iſland to New-Caſtle.

When the Britiſh troops had taken poſſeſſion of Philadelphia, their firſt object was the erecting of batteries to command the river, as well to prevent the intercourſe of the American veſſels between their upper and lower poſts, as to protect the city from any inſult by water. The neceſſity of this meaſure became obvious, almoſt as ſoon as it was determined upon. The very day after the arrival of the forces, the American frigate Delaware, of 32 guns, anchored within 500 yards of the unfiniſhed batteries, and being ſeconded by another frigate, with ſome ſmaller veſſels, they commenced, and ſupported for ſome hours, a very heavy cannonade, both upon the batteries and the town. They did not, however, diſplay the judgment which their knowledge of the river might be ſuppoſed to afford. Upon the falling of the tide the Delaware grounded ſo effectually that ſhe could not be got off, which being ſoon perceived by the grenadiers, they brought their battalion field pieces to play upon her with ſo true a direction and excellent effect, that the Delaware being obliged to ſtrike her colours, was boarded and taken by an officer and detachment of that corps. Brigadier General Cleveland immediately profited of the effect of the battalion guns, by directing the whole fire of the batteries to the other veſſels, which were compelled to retire, with the loſs of a ſchooner which was driven aſhore.

Attack on the new batteries at Philadelphia.

Delaware Frigate taken.

The Americans had at vaſt expence, and with wonderful labour and induſtry, conſtructed great and numerous works, to render the paſſage of the Delaware up to Philadelphia impracticable. In the proſecution of this deſign, they had erected works and batteries upon a flat, low, marſhy iſland, or rather a bank of mud and ſand, which had been accumulated in the Delaware, near the junction of the Schuylkill, and which from its nature was called Mud, but from theſe defences, Fort-Iſland. On the oppoſite ſhore of New Jerſey, at a place called Red-Bank, they had alſo conſtructed a fort or redoubt, well covered with heavy artillery. In the deep navigable channel, between, or under the cover of theſe batteries, they had ſunk ſeveral ranges of frames or machines, to which, from a reſemblance in the conſtruction, they had given the appellation of chevaux de frize, being compoſed of tranſverſe beams,

The paſſage of the Delaware rendered impracticable.

beams, firmly united, pointing in various directions, and ſtrongly headed with iron. Theſe were of ſuch a weight and ſtrength, and ſunk in ſuch a depth of water, as rendered them equally difficult to be weighed or cut through, and deſtructive to any ſhip which had the misfortune of ſtriking againſt them. No attempt for raiſing them, or for opening the channel in any manner, could, however, be made, until the command of the ſhores on both ſides was fully obtained. 1777.

About three miles lower down the river, they had ſunk other ranges of theſe machines, and were conſtructing for their protection ſome conſiderable and extenſive works, which, though not yet finiſhed, were in ſuch forwardneſs as to be provided with artillery, and to command their object, at a place on the Jerſey ſide called Billing's Point. Theſe works and machines were further ſupported by ſeveral gallies mounting heavy cannon, together with two floating batteries, a number of armed veſſels and ſmall craft of various kinds, and ſome fire ſhips. In a word, the Delaware ſeemed to teem with every defenſive preparation, which could render the hoſtile operations and movements of a fleet, in the confined and uncertain navigation of a river, extremely dangerous.

Upon the repreſentation of Captain Hammond, of the Roebuck, who with ſome other ſhips of war had arrived in the Delaware before Lord Howe, the General detached two regiments, conſiſting of three battalions, under Colonel Stirling, to diſlodge the enemy from Billingsfort. The detachment having croſſed the river from Cheſter, where the ſhips lay, performed the ſervice effectually without loſs or oppoſition. The enemy, without waiting to be attacked, as ſoon as they heard of their approach, immediately ſpiked their artillery, ſet fire to the barracks, and abandoned the place with the greateſt precipitation. The detachment waited to deſtroy, or to render unſerviceable, thoſe parts of the works which fronted the river. This ſucceſs, with the ſpirit and perſeverance exhibited by the officers and crews of the ſhips under his command, enabled Captain Hammond, through great difficulties, and a vigorous oppoſition from the marine force of the enemy, to carry the principal object of the expedition into effect, by cutting away and weighing up ſo much of the chevaux de frize, as opened a narrow and difficult paſſage for ſhips through this lower barrier. Succeſsful expedition to Billing's Fort.

Upon the return of the detachment from Jerſey, another regiment was ſent to meet them at Cheſter, in order that

1777. they might altogether form a ſufficient eſcort for a large convoy of proviſions to the camp. The army ſtill lay at German Town, a very long and conſiderable village, about half a dozen miles from Philadelphia, and which, ſtretching on both ſides of the great road to the northward, forms a continued ſtreet of two miles in length. The line of encampment paſſed German Town at right angles about the center, the left wing extending on the weſt from the town to the Schuylkill. That wing was covered in front, by the mounted and diſmounted German chaſſeurs; a battalion of light infantry, and the Queen's American rangers, were in the front of the right, and the 40th regiment, with another battalion of light infantry, were poſted at the head of the village. Lord Cornwallis lay at Philadelphia, with four battalions of grenadiers; and we have already ſeen, that three regiments had been detached on the ſide of Cheſter.

Royal army ſurpriſed at German-Town.

The enemy were encamped at Skippach Creek, about 16 miles from German Town. They had received ſome reinforcements, and they were not ignorant that the royal army was weakened by the detachments it had made to Philadelphia and Cheſter. Theſe circumſtances induced an enterprize, little expected, and ſeemingly as little ſuited, to the general caution, and to the ſuppoſed genius and diſpoſition of Waſhington. Inſtead of ſhunning, as uſual, every thing that might lead to an action, the American army quitted its ſtrong poſt at Skippach Creek at ſix in the evening, and marched all night to ſurprize and attack the royal army in its camp at German Town.

At three o'clock in the morning, their approach was diſcovered by the patroles, and the army was immediately called to arms. They began their attack upon the 40th regiment, and the battalion of light infantry by which it was accompanied. Theſe corps, after a vigorous reſiſtance, being at length overpowered by numbers, were preſſed and purſued into the village. In this exigence, a meaſure upon which much of the future fortune of the day depended, was inſtantly and happily adopted by Lieutenant Colonel Muſgrave, who threw himſelf with ſix companies of the 40th regiment into a large and ſtrong ſtone houſe, which lay full in the front of the enemy.

By this meaſure they were checked in their forward hope and deſign of gaining complete and immediate poſſeſſion of that long town, which among other great and obvious advantages, would have enabled them effectually to ſeparate the right and left wings of the royal army. The Colonel and

and his brave party, ſurrounded by a whole brigade, and attacked on every ſide with great reſolution, defended the houſe with the moſt undaunted courage; and though the enemy at length brought cannon up to the aſſault, he ſtill maintained his poſt with equal intrepidity, pouring a dreadful and unceaſing fire through the windows, until affairs had taken ſuch a turn as afforded him relief. 1777.

This was accompliſhed by Major-General Grey, who bringing the front of a great part of the left wing by a timely movement to the village, led on three battalions of the 3d brigade, who attacked the enemy with vigour, and were as bravely ſupported and ſeconded, by Brigadier-General Agnew, at the head of the 4th brigade. The engagement was now for ſome time very warm; but the enemy being attacked on the oppoſite ſide of the village by two regiments of the right wing, were thrown into total diſorder, and driven out of the town with conſiderable ſlaughter.

In the mean time, the light infantry and pickets of the right wing, ſupported by the 4th, and ſeconded by the 49th regiment, were warmly engaged with the enemy's left; but General Grey, after forcing their troops in the village, having paſſed it, and bringing the left wing forward, they immediately retired on all ſides. The enemy was purſued for ſome miles; but the country being woody, ſtrong, and encloſed, the purſuit was attended with ſo little effect, that they carried their cannon clear off. Lord Cornwallis arrived with a ſquadron of light-horſe from Philadelphia, towards the cloſe of the engagement, and joined in the purſuit; whilſt three battalions of grenadiers from the ſame place, who had run themſelves out of breath in the ardour of ſuccouring their fellows, were too late to come in for any ſhare of the action. Americans repulſed.

It appears that the morning was exceedingly foggy, to which the Americans (who had conſiderable ſucceſs in the beginning of the action) attribute their not improving the advantages they at firſt gained, in the manner which they would otherwiſe have done. For they were not only, as they aſſert, through this circumſtance, prevented from obſerving the true ſituation of the enemy, by which the latter had time to recover from the effect of the firſt impreſſion they had made on them; but the different bodies of their own army were kept in ignorance of each others movements and ſucceſs, and were conſequently incapable of acting in concert. It is even ſaid, that ſome of their parties, in the thickneſs of the fog, had poured their fire upon each other,

1777. under a blind miſtake on both ſides of being engaged with the enemy. Waſhington paid great compliments to the right wing for its good behaviour, of which he had been a witneſs, but he left the conduct of the left, at leaſt, doubtful, by ſaying that he had not yet received ſufficient information to found any opinion on.

Loſs on both ſides.

The loſs of the royal army in this action, including the wounded and a few priſoners, rather exceeded that at the Brandywine, the whole amounting to 535; but the proportion of the ſlain was ſtill ſmaller than in that engagement, and ſcarcely exceeded 70. In this number were unhappily ſome very brave and diſtinguiſhed officers; particularly Brigadier-General Agnew, and Lieutenant Colonel Bird. The number of officers wounded was conſiderable. The American loſs was eſtimated in the Gazette, at between 2 and 300 ſlain, 600 wounded, and above 400 priſoners. Among the ſlain was General Naſh, and ſeveral other officers of all ranks; 54 officers were taken priſoners. In this action the Americans acted upon the offenſive; and though repulſed with loſs, ſhewed themſelves a formidable adverſary; capable of charging with reſolution, and retreating with good order. The hope therefore entertained from the effect of any action with them as deciſive, and likely to put a ſpeedy termination to the war, was exceedingly abated.

Army removes to Philadelphia.

The taking of Philadelphia was not attended with all the advantages expected from that conqueſt. The rebel army however ſtraitened, ſtill kept the field; and until the Delaware could be cleared, it was obvious that the army could not ſupport itſelf in that town for the winter. Therefore, as the whole effect of the campaign depended upon that operation, about a fortnight after the battle, the King's army removed from German-Town to Philadelphia, as being a more convenient place for the reduction of Mud, or Fort Iſland, and for co-operating with the naval force in opening the navigation of the river. The enemy had returned after the action of German-Town, to their old camp at Skippach Creek, where they ſtill continued.

Unſucceſsful attack on the Delaware.

Meaſures being concerted between the General and Admiral for removing the obſtructions of the river, the former ordered batteries to be erected on the weſtern ſhore, or Penſylvania ſide, in hopes of aſſiſting in diſlodging the enemy from Mud-Iſland, the difficulty of acceſs to which, was found to render its reduction a much more tedious and difficult operation than had been expected. He alſo detached a ſtrong body of Heſſians acroſs the river at Cooper's Ferry, oppoſite the

the town, who were to march down and force the redoubt of Red Bank, whilſt the ſhips, and the batteries on the other ſide, were to carry on their attacks againſt Mud-Iſland and the enemy's marine force. The Heſſian detachment was led by Colonel Donop, (who had gained great reputation in various actions of this war) and conſiſted beſides of light infantry and Chaſſeurs, of three battalions of grenadiers, and the regiment of Mirbach. The Amerian force at Red Bank was eſtimated at about 800 men. 1777.

Though nothing could exceed the good diſpoſition made for theſe ſeveral attacks, nor the exertions of vigour and courage diſplayed both by land and naval force on their different elements, yet this enterprize not only failed of ſucceſs, but was in every reſpect unfortunate. Colonel Donop attacked the enemy's entrenchments with the utmoſt gallantry, and after a very ſharp action, ſucceeded in carrying an extenſive out-work; but he found the enemy better covered in the body of the redoubt, and the defence more vigorous than he expected. The brave Colonel was there mortally wounded and taken priſoner. Some of his beſt officers were killed or diſabled, and the Heſſians after a deſperate engagement, were repulſed with great loſs. Colonel Mingerode, the next in command, being likewiſe dangerouſly wounded, the detachment was brought off by Lieutenant-Colonel Linſing, having ſuffered much in the approach and retreat from the aſſault by the fire of the enemy's gallies and floating batteries. The loſs of the Heſſians, whether as to private men or officers, was never particularly authenticated; it was however, known to be very conſiderable: probably not leſs than four or five hundred men.

Heſſians repulſed with great loſs at Red B. Oct. 22.

Col. Donop kill'd

The men of war and frigates deſtined for the attack, having made their way with difficulty through the lower barrier, took every poſſible diſpoſition that the nature and ſituation of the river would admit for the deſtruction of the upper works and defences, where they commenced their aſſault, at the ſame time that Colonel Donop was engaged at Red Bank. Fortune was not more favourable here than aſhore. The ſhips could not bring their fire to bear with any great effect upon their works. The extraordinary obſtruction with which the enemy had interrupted the free courſe of the river, had even affected its bed, and wrought ſome alteration in its known and natural channel. By this means, the Auguſta man of war and Merlin ſloop, were grounded ſo faſt at ſome diſtance from the chevaux-de-frize, that there was no poſſibility of getting them off. In this ſituation, though the ſkill

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1777. and courage of the officers and crews of the ſeveral veſſels, prevented the effect of four fire ſhips which the enemy had ſent to deſtroy the Auguſta, ſhe unfortunately took fire in the engagement, which placed the others under the neceſſity of retiring with the utmoſt expedition, to get beyond the effect of the exploſion. In theſe urgent and difficult circumſtances, the Merlin was haſtily evacuated, and laid in a train of deſtruction, and the greater part of the officers and crew of the Auguſta ſaved; but the ſecond Lieutenant, Chaplain, and gunner, with no inconſiderable number of the common men, unhappily periſhed.

New and effectual meaſures taken. The ill ſucceſs of this enterprize by no means damped the reſolution of the commanders, in proſecution of the abſolutely neceſſary work of opening the navigation of the Delaware. New ground was taken, new meaſures adopted, and every preparation made that could inſure ſucceſs in the deſign. Nor were the enemy idle on their ſide. They well underſtood the great conſequence it was of to them to keep the naval force ſeparated from the army, and to render the communication between them tedious and difficult. They accordingly left nothing undone to ſtrengthen their defences.

The officers and ſeamen of the fleet were inceſſantly employed in conveying heavy artillery, proviſions and ſtores, up the river, by a difficult channel on the weſt ſide, to a ſmall moraſſy iſland, where they erected batteries, which greatly Nov. 15. incommoded the enemy's works on Mud-Iſland. Every thing being prepared for an attack, the Iſis and Somerſet men of war, paſſed up the eaſt channel, in order to attack the enemy's works in the front; ſeveral frigates drew up againſt a fort newly erected on the Jerſey ſide, near Manto Creek, which was ſo ſituated as to flank the men of war in their ſtation; and two armed veſſels, mounted with 24 pounders, ſucceſsfully made their way through the narrow channel on the weſtern ſide at the back of Hogg Iſland; a matter of the greateſt importance with reſpect to the ſucceſs of the attack, as theſe two veſſels, in concert with the batteries newly erected in Province Iſland, enfiladed the principal works which the enemy had erected on Mud-Iſland.

Mud Iſland, & Red Bank taken. A heavy fire was ſupported on both ſides. At length the vigorous attack made by the Iſis in front, and by the two armed veſſels, and the batteries in other quarters, ſo overpowered the enemy in the fort and works on Mud-Iſland, that towards evening their artillery was entirely ſilenced. And they perceiving that meaſures were taking for forcing their works on the following morning, and being alſo ſenſi-

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ble that, in the preſent ſtate of things, they were not defenſible, they ſet fire to every thing that was capable of receiving it, and abandoned the place in the night. 1777.

The loſs of the enemy in men was ſaid to be very conſiderable; that of the fleet, was more trifling than could have been ſuppoſed. Their artillery and ſome ſtores were taken at Mud Iſland. In two days after, Lord Cornwallis paſſed over with a detachment from Cheſter to Billing's Fort, where he was joined by a body of forces juſt arrived from New York. They proceeded all together to Red Bank, which the enemy abandoned at their approach, leaving their artillery with a conſiderable quantity of cannon-ball and ſtores behind them. The works were demoliſhed.

The enemy's ſhipping having now loſt all protection on their ſide of the river, ſeveral of their gallies and other armed veſſels took the advantage of a favourable night, to paſs the batteries of Philadelphia, and eſcape to places of ſecurity farther up. The diſcovery of this tranſaction occaſioned the ſending an officer with a party of ſeamen to man the Delaware frigate lately taken, and lying at Philadelphia, and the taking of ſuch other meaſures, as rendered the eſcaping of the remainder impracticable. Thus environed, the crews abandoned and ſet fire to their veſſels, which were all conſumed to the amount of ſeventeen of different ſorts, including the two floating batteries, and fire-ſhips. With all theſe advantages, the ſeaſon of the year, and other impediments, rendered the clearing of the river, in any conſiderable degree, impracticable; ſo that the making or diſcovering of ſuch a channel, as might admit the paſſage of tranſports and veſſels of eaſy burden with proviſions and neceſſaries for the uſe of the army at Philadelphia, was all that could be obtained at preſent.

Americans burn their veſſels.

General Waſhington being reinforced by 4000 men from the northern army, advanced within 14 miles of Philadelphia, to a place called White Marſh, where he encamped in a very ſtrong poſition, with his right to the Wiſſahichon Creek, and the front partly covered by Sandy Run. As this movement ſeemed to indicate a diſpoſition to adventure, General Howe was not without hopes, that the late reinforcement would encourage them to hazard a battle for the recovery of Philadelphia. If ſuch was their intention, he was determined that they ſhould not cool in it, for want of an opportunity of bringing it into action; or if they ſtill adhered to their uſual ſyſtem of caution and defence, it was ſtill reaſonably to be hoped that upon a cloſe inſpection of

their

1777. their ſituation, ſome part of their camp would be found ſo vulnerable as to admit of a ſucceſsful impreſſion.

Upon theſe grounds the general marched the army from Philadelphia on the 4th of December at night, and took poſt at Cheſnut Hill, in the front of the enemy's right on the next morning. Finding that their right afforded no opening for an attack, he changed his ground before day on the 7th, and took a new poſition oppoſite to their center and left. Some ſkirmiſhes happened in which the enemy were conſtantly defeated, and their flying parties purſued home almoſt to their works. The General at length, after continuing above three days conſtantly in their ſight, advancing within a mile of their lines, and examining their works with the cloſeſt attention, finding that nothing could provoke or entice them to action, and that their camp was in every part inacceſſible, gave up the proſecution of a deſign which was evidently fruitleſs. The army alſo ſuffered greatly from the ſeverity of the weather, both officers and ſoldiers being totally deſtitute of tents and field equipage.

G. Howe returns to Philadelphia.

The General accordingly began his march to Philadelphia on the afternoon of the 8th, in full view of the enemy, without being purſued, or in the ſmalleſt degree incommoded on his return. As the ſeaſon was now too far advanced, to admit of any other attention than what related to the accommodation of the army, a grand detachment was ſent out to procure forage for the winter, which was ſucceſsfully performed. In the mean time Waſhington removed his camp from White Marſh to Valley Forge, upon the Schuylkill, about 15 or 16 miles from Philadelphia, in a very ſtrong and conſequently ſecure poſition. Nothing could afford a ſtronger proof, to whoever conſiders the nature and diſpoſition of thoſe people, of the unbounded influence on the minds both of his officers and men which that General poſſeſſed, than his being able not only to keep them together, but to ſubmit to the incommodities and diſtreſſes incident to living in a hutted camp, during the ſevere winter of that climate, and where all his ſupplies of proviſion and ſtores muſt come from a great diſtance, at much expence and no ſmall hazard. It was alſo a proof with many others, of the general ſtrong diſpoſition of America, to ſuffer all things rather than ſubmit to force.

Such was the iſſue of the campaign upon the Delaware. A campaign which affords much room for the moſt ſerious reflection. The Britiſh arms were crowned with the moſt brilliant ſucceſs. Two very conſiderable victories were obtained. In all leſſer actions, bating the affair at Red-Bank, they were

were equally triumphant. Yet with all this tide of ſucceſs, all the fruit derived from our victories at the cloſe of the campaign, amounted to no more than ſimply a good winter lodging for our army in the city of Philadelphia; whilſt the troops poſſeſſed no more of the adjacent country than what they immediately commanded with their arms. It was ſtill more diſcouraging, that the enemy had given repeated proofs, that however he might engage them when he thought it to his advantage, it was impoſſible for the royal army to bring him to action againſt his conſent. This gave occaſion to much uneaſineſs in England; where the news of the firſt ſucceſſes had cauſed the greateſt exultation, which was now ſucceeded with very gloomy reflections on the peculiar and fatal circumſtances, which, from the nature of the country, and other co-operating cauſes, had diſtinguiſhed this war, from all others in which we had ever been concerned; and in which victory and defeat were nearly productive of the ſame conſequences. 1777.

CHAP.

CHAP XIV.

Affairs in Canada. Northern expedition committed to General Burgoyne. Line of conduct purſued by General Carleton. Savages employed. Expedition under Colonel St. Leger. War-feaſt, and ſpeech to the Indians. Manifeſto. Ticonderoga and Mount Independence inveſted by the royal army. Council of war held, and the forts abandoned by the Americans. Purſuit by land and water. Rear of the Americans overtaken by General Frazer. General St. Clair take to the woods, with the remains of his army, and at length arrive at Fort Edward. Fort Anne abandoned. Difficulties encountered by the royal army in their march to Fort Edward. American army retires to Saratoga.

1777. WE now turn from exemplifying victory without equivalent advantage in one quarter, to behold the moſt miſchievous conſequences of defeat in another. The war upon the ſide of Canada and the lake, was committed to the charge of Lieutenant General Burgoyne; an officer whoſe ability was unqueſtioned, and whoſe ſpirit of enterprize, and thirſt for military glory, however rivalled, could not poſſibly be exceeded.

This appointment, however palliated or juſtified, by the propriety or ſuppoſed neceſſity of the Governor's conſtant reſidence in his province, could not fail of being ſenſibly felt, and could ſcarcely be ſuppoſed not to give umbrage, to General Carleton, to whoſe abilities, and reſolution, this nation in general acknowledged, and the world attributed, the preſervation of Canada. It was ſaid, that his powers had been diminiſhed in proportion to the greatneſs of his ſervices. His military command extended before to every part of America, whither he might find it fitting to conduct the army under his direction. It was now ſuddenly reſtrained to the narrow limits of his own province. He had, ſaid his friends, in the preceding campaign, not only driven the enemy out of Canada, but a great naval armament had been formed,

ed, the enemy's force on Lake Champlain deſtroyed, and Crown-point recovered, under his authority. The lateneſs of the ſeaſon only, prevented him from attacking Ticonderoga, and immediately proſecuting the war to the Southward. He had, during the winter, exerted his uſual induſtry, and applied his military ſkill and judgment, in the forwarding of every preparation, which might conduce to the ſucceſs of the deſign in the enſuing campaign. At the opening of the communication with England, inſtead of the reinforcement which he had required and expected for the completion of his purpoſe, he received an arrangement totally new, which as it had been framed without any reference to his judgment, or attention to his approbation, left nothing to his diſcretion or opinion in the execution. Two expeditions were to be formed, in each of which, the number and nature of the troops to be employed, the particular ſervice of each corps, with its ſubdiviſions and the ſmalleſt detachment to be made from it, had been minutely and preciſely ſpecified by the miniſter. He was not even conſulted as to the number or nature of the troops which were to remain in his hands for the defence or ſecurity of Canada. In a word, the army which he had lately commanded was taken out of his, and placed in other hands, and officers who lately acted under his direction, were by a detraction from his authority, virtually placed in independent commands; for their inſtructions to put themſelves under the orders of Sir William Howe, ſeemed little more than a mockery, as that General had informed Sir Guy Carleton, that the concerted operations of the campaign on his ſide, would lead him to ſuch a diſtance, as to render any communication of that nature impracticable. 1777.

That the governor felt and underſtood his arrangement and theſe appointments in the manner we have related from the complaints of his friends in England, ſeems evident from the immediate reſignation of his government which then took place; but as the notification, the appointment of another, and the paſſage of his ſucceſſor from Europe, were all works of time, he was ſtill, however ungrateful the taſk, obliged to continue in the exerciſe of his office, during a longer period than that of which we are treating.

Under theſe circumſtances, and in this trying and difficult ſituation, he endeavoured to ſhew that reſentment could not warp him from his duty, and he applied himſelf with the ſame diligence and energy, to forward by every poſſible means, and to ſupport in all its parts the expedition, as if the arrangement

1777. arrangement was entirely his own. This conduct, however praiſe-worthy, was not leſs neceſſary, from the peculiar nature of the ſervice which was to be performed; a ſervice exceedingly complicated in the arrangement, uncommonly numerous in the parts; and many unuſual in practice. It will not be difficult to conceive, how effectually negligence, diſlike, obſtinacy, or even a colourable and rational difference of opinion in ſome diſputable points, might fruſtrate all the hopes founded upon ſuch a ſyſtem.

Nothing of this ſort intervened, to damp the ſpirit or to defeat the ſucceſs of the expedition. The preparations were carried on with vigour.

We have before taken notice, that the miniſters, and more particularly the noble lord at the head of the American department, were not only particularly intereſted in the event, but had founded the moſt ſanguine hopes upon the ſucceſs of this expedition. Nothing was accordingly left undone on their ſide, which, in proportion to the number of regular troops that could be ſpared for that particular ſervice, might conduce to give efficacy to their operations. Beſides, Canada it was hoped would ſupply a warlike though undiſciplined militia, well calculated for, and acquainted with, the peculiar nature of the ſervice and country.

To ſtrengthen and increaſe this irregular, but neceſſary aid, arms and accoutrements were amply provided, to ſupply thoſe numerous loyaliſts, who were expected to join the royal army as ſoon as it approached or penetrated the frontiers of the adjacent provinces. As a powerful artillery is conſidered to be the great and effective arm in an American war, where a numerous and undiſciplined enemy is to be continually attacked in difficult poſts, and driven out of woods and faſtneſſes, ſo this part of the ſervice was particularly attended to, and the braſs train that was ſent out upon this expedition, was perhaps the fineſt, and probably the moſt excellently ſupplied as to officers and private men, that had ever been allotted to ſecond the operations of any army, which did not far exceed the preſent in number.

Beſides theſe forces, ſeveral nations of ſavages had been induced to come into the field. This meaſure was defended upon the ſuppoſed neceſſity of the caſe; as if from their character it was preſumed they could not lie ſtill, and if not engaged in the King's ſervice, would have joined the Americans. Whatever advantages were hoped from them, General Carleton did not in the preceding year make much uſe of them; but civilly diſmiſſed them at the cloſe of the campaign, on a promiſe

promiſe of appearing in the next if required. There has been a good deal of diſcuſſion, which we want materials to ſettle, how far he approved of their employment at all. The friends of miniſtry ſaid, that he had recommended and forwarded the meaſure. Others ſaid, that partly from humanity, partly from his forming a juſt eſtimate of their ſervices, and knowing by experience the extent of their powers and ability in war, he was unwilling to uſe them, knowing that they were capricious, inconſtant, and intractable. That as their ideas of war and of courage were totally different from thoſe of civilized nations, ſo, notwithſtanding their ferocity of character, and the incredible ſpecimens of paſſive valour which they ſometimes exhibited in caſes adapted to their own opinions, they not only abhorred, but dreaded, whatever is conſidered as fair and generous ſervice among Europeans, wherein the contending parties bravely ſeek and are included in one common danger, truſting only for ſucceſs to their ſuperior ſkill and courage. That their object and deſign in all wars, was not to fight, but to murder; not to conquer, but to deſtroy. In a word, that their ſervice was uncertain, their rapacity inſatiate, their faith ever doubtful, and their actions cruel and barbarous. 1777.

Whatever his reaſons were for not employing them in a more early and effectual manner, if it were in his power to do it, as early and effectually as was imagined, this conduct was far from being generally approved of at home. Thoſe who were particularly warm in their zeal againſt the colonies, began ſomewhat to forget their natural humanity in their anger. They inſiſted, that every appearance of lenity in ſuch circumſtances was actual cruelty in the effect, by acting as an incentive to diſobedience, and increaſing the objects of puniſhment. That on the contrary, partial ſeverity was general mercy; as timely exertions of juſtice, and ſtrict inflictions of puniſhment, were at all times the ſure means of preventing crimes. That the only method of ſpeedily cruſhing the rebellion, was to render the ſituation of the actors in it ſo intolerable, that a ceſſation from danger, and the bleſſings of repoſe, ſhould become the only objects of their contemplation and hope. That the means were but little to be attended to, when they led to the acccompliſhment of ſo great and happy a purpoſe, as the deſtruction of rebellion, and the reſtoration of order and legal government.

And that in all convulſions of ſtates, the innocent were too frequently involved in the calamities which were intended or wiſhed to be confined entirely to the guilty; but ſuch was

1777. the lot and condition of mankind, that this evil, however deplored, could not in numberleſs inſtances be avoided or prevented. This doctrine was ſupported by the avowed friends of government, whether out of office, or in the ſubordinate departments of the ſtate; it was alſo generally ſuppoſed to be conſonant to the opinions of the miniſters, and that General Carleton's ſcruples or niceties upon this point were by no means acceptable.

The Engliſh employ the ſavages.

However this was, in the preſent arrangement, the aid of the ſavages was conſidered as a principal member of that force which was deſtined to the proſecution of the northern war, and the Governor of Canada was accordingly enjoined to uſe his utmoſt weight and influence, in bringing the Indian nations forward in ſupport of the expedition. His zeal was as active in fulfilling this duty, as it was in every other which appertained to the preſent ſervice. Nor was his ſucceſs diſproportioned to his zeal. Whether it proceeded from the Governor's influence with the Indians, their avidity to ſeize the preſents which were now liberally diſtributed amongſt them, from their own innate thirſt for war and plunder, or more probably, from the joint operation of all theſe cauſes, their remote as well as near nations poured forth their warriors in ſuch abundance, that he became at length apprehenſive, that their numbers might render them an incumbrance rather than an aid to the army.

The regular force allotted to the expedition conducted by General Burgoyne, conſiſting of Britiſh and German troops, amounted to 7173 men, excluſive of the artillery corps. Of theſe, the German Corps (conſiſting moſtly of Brunſwickers) amounted to 3217. The force required by that General in the propoſals which he laid before the Miniſter, conſiſted of 8000 regulars, rank and file, beſides the artillery, a corps of Watermen, 2000 Canadians, including hatchetmen, and other Workmen, with a thouſand, or more, ſavages. We have no certain information what numbers of theſe auxiliaries were in actual ſervice upon the expedition.

Canada was largely rated, and its inhabitants muſt have ſenſibly felt the proportion which they were allotted to contribute towards this ſervice. In the propoſals laid before the Miniſter, beſides the militia and various ſpecies of workmen ſuppoſed neceſſary to be immediately attached to the army, and to accompany it on the expedition, chains of their militia, patroles, and poſts, were expected to occupy the Woods in the frontiers on the rear of the army, partly to intercept the communication between the enemy and the ill affected

fected in Canada, partly to prevent deſertion and to procure intelligence, and for various other duties neceſſary towards keeping the country in quiet. Another great call upon them was for workmen to complete the fortifications at Sorel, St. John's, Chamblee and Iſle au Noix, which it was ſuppoſed would amount to 2000 men. A ſtill greater call upon the Canadians, and the more grievous, as it was at their ſeed-ſowing ſeaſon, was for the tranſport of all the proviſions, artillery, ſtores, and baggage of the army, from the different repoſitories to the water, and afterwards at the carrying places, beſides the corvees for making the roads. It was eſtimated that this ſervice would for ſome time before, and at the opening of the campaign, require no leſs than 2000 men, beſides a very large proportion of horſes and carts. 1777.

General Burgoyne was ſeconded by able and excellent officers. Of theſe, Major-General Phillips of the artillery, who had gained ſuch diſtinguiſhed renown by his conduct in that ſervice during the late war in Germany, deſerves to be particularly mentioned. He was likewiſe aſſiſted by the Brigadier-Generals, Frazer, Powel, and Hamilton, all diſtinguiſhed officers, with the Brunſwick Major-General Baron Reideſel, and Brigadier-General Speeht. The army was, in every reſpect, in the beſt condition that could poſſibly be expected or wiſhed, the troops being in the higheſt ſpirits, admirably diſciplined, and uncommonly healthy.

The detachment on the expedition to the Mohawk River under Colonel St. Leger, did not probably exceed ſeven or eight hundred men, conſiſting of 200 drawn from the 8th and 34th regiments, a regiment of New-Yorkers, lately raiſed by, and under the command of, Sir John Johnſon, being moſtly emigrants from his own country, adjoining to the intended ſcene of action, with ſome Hanau Chaſſeurs, a company of Canadians, and another of newly raiſed rangers. Theſe were joined by a ſtrong body of ſavages, in part conducted, or if it may be termed officered, by a number of Britiſh and Americans. The regular force left in Canada, including the Highland emigrants under that denomination, amounted to about 3700 men.

The army being at length arrived and encamped at the River Bouquet, on the weſt ſide of Lake Champlain, and at no very great diſtance to the northward of Crown Point, General Burgoyne, there met the Indians in congreſs, and afterwards, in compliance with the cuſtoms of thoſe people, gave them a war feaſt. The ſpeech which he made to the ſavages upon this occaſion has been publiſhed. It was calcu- June 21.

1777. lated in thoſe powerful ſtrains of elocution by which that gentleman is diſtinguiſhed, to excite their ardour in the common cauſe, and at the ſame time to repreſs their barbarity. For this purpoſe he took pains in explaining to them the diſtinction, between a war carried on againſt a common enemy, in which the whole country and people were hoſtile, and the preſent, in which good and faithful ſubjects were largely, and of neceſſity, intermixed with rebels and traytors. Upon this principle he laid down ſeveral injunctions for the government of their conduct, particularly, that they ſhould only kill thoſe who were oppoſed to them in arms; that old men, women, children, and priſoners, ſhould be held ſacred from the knife or hatchet, even in the heat of actual conflict; that they ſhould only ſcalp thoſe whom they had ſlain in fair oppoſition; but that under no pretence, ſubtlety, or colour of prevarication, they ſhould ſcalp the wounded, or even dying; much leſs kill perſons in that condition, by way of evading the injunction. And they were promiſed a compenſation for priſoners, but informed that they ſhould be called to account for ſcalps. Theſe endeavours did in ſome meaſure mitigate, but were not of force wholly to reſtrain their ferocity, of which ſome unhappy inſtances afterwards appeared.

The General ſoon after diſperſed a manifeſto, calculated to ſpread terror among the contumacious, and particularly to revive in their minds every latent impreſſion of fear derived from knowledge or information of the cruel operations of the ſavages, whoſe numbers were accordingly magnified, and their eagerneſs to be let looſe to their prey, deſcribed with uncommon energy. The force of that great power, which was now ſpread by ſea and land, to embrace or to cruſh every part of America, was diſplayed in full, lofty, and expreſſive language. The rebellion, with its effects, and the conduct of the preſent governors and governments, were charged with the higheſt colouring, and exhibited a moſt hideous picture, of unparalleled injuſtice, cruelty, perſecution and tyranny. Encouragement and employment were aſſured to thoſe, who with a diſpoſition and ability ſuited to the purpoſe, ſhould actually aſſiſt in redeeming their country from ſlavery, and in the re-eſtabliſhment of legal government. Protection and ſecurity, clogged with conditions, reſtricted by circumſtances, and rather imperfectly or inexplicitly expreſſed, were held out to the peacable and induſtrious, who continued in their habitations. And all the calamities and outrages of war, arrayed in their moſt terrific forms, were denounced againſt thoſe who perſevered in their hoſtility.

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The army having made a ſhort ſtay at Crown Point, for the eſtabliſhment of magazines, an hoſpital, and other neceſſary ſervices, proceeded, in concert with the naval armament, to inveſt Ticonderoga, which was the firſt object of their deſtination. Although the raſh and ill conducted attempt made upon that place in the year 1758, with the conſequent repulſe and heavy loſs ſuſtained by the Britiſh army, rendered it at that time an object of general attention, it may not at this diſtance of time be wholly unneceſſary to take ſome notice of its ſituation, as well as of its ſtate of defence. 1777.

Account of Ticonderoga.

Ticonderoga lies on the weſtern ſhore, and only a few miles to the northward from the commencement of that narrow inlet, by which the water from Lake George is conveyed to Lake Champlain. Crown Point lies about a dozen miles farther north at the extremity of that inlet. The firſt of theſe places is ſituated on an angle of land, which is ſurrounded on three ſides by water, and that covered by rocks. A great part of the fourth ſide was covered by a deep moraſs, and where that fails, the old French lines ſtill continued as a defence on the north-weſt quarter. The Americans ſtrengthened theſe lines with additional works and a block-houſe. They had other poſts with works and blockhouſes, on the left, towards Lake George. To the right of the French lines they had alſo two new blockhouſes with other works.

On the eaſtern ſhore of the inlet, and oppoſite to Ticonderoga, the Americans had taken ſtill more pains in fortifying a high circular hill to which they gave the name of Mount Independence. On the ſummit of this, which is Tableland, they had erected a ſtar fort, encloſing a large ſquare of barracks, well fortified and ſupplied with artillery. The foot of the mountain, which on the weſt ſide projected into the water, was ſtrongly entrenched to its edge, and the entrenchment well lined with heavy artillery. A battery about half way up the mount, ſuſtained and covered theſe lower works.

The Americans, with their uſual induſtry, had joined theſe two poſts by a bridge of communication thrown over the inlet. This was, like many other of their performances, a great and moſt laborious work. The bridge was ſupported on 22 ſunken piers of very large timber, placed at nearly equal diſtances; the ſpaces between theſe were filled with ſeparate floats, each about fifty feet long and twelve feet wide, ſtrongly faſtened together with chains and rivets, and as effectually attached to the ſunken pillars. On the Lake Champlain ſide of the bridge, it was defended by a boom

1777. compoſed of very large pieces of timber, faſtened together by rivetted bolts and double chains, made of iron an inch and half ſquare. Thus not only a communication was maintained between theſe two poſts, but all acceſs by water from the northern ſide was totally cut off.

It is to be obſerved, that as the inlet immediately after paſſing Ticonderoga, aſſumes a new form, ſuddenly widening to a conſiderable breadth, and becoming navigable to veſſels of burden, ſo from thence it alſo holds the name of Champlain, although it is not properly a part of the lake. On the other hand, the ſouthern gut from Lake George, beſides being narrow, is alſo rendered unnavigable by ſhallows and falls; but on its arrival at Ticonderoga, it is joined by a great body of water on the eaſtern ſide, called, in this part, South River, but higher up towards its ſource, before the junction of the elder branch with the younger, which runs from South Bay, it is known under the appellation of Wood Creek. The confluence of theſe waters at Ticonderoga, forms a ſmall bay to the ſouthward of the bridge of communication, and the point of land formed by their junction, is compoſed of a mountain called Sugar Hill.

Notwithſtanding the apparent ſtrength of Ticonderoga from what we have hitherto ſeen, it is entirely overlooked, and its works effectually commanded by Sugar Hill. This circumſtance occaſioned a conſultation among the Americans as to the fortifying of that Mount; but their works were already far too extenſive for their powers of defence, and would require ten or twelve thouſand men to be effectually manned. It was likewiſe hoped, that the difficulty of acceſs to the Sugar Mount, and the ſavage inequality of its ſurface, would prevent the enemy from attempting to profit of its ſituation.

It would be exceedingly difficult from the information before us, to form any authentic eſtimate of the number of Americans that were in the actual defence of theſe two poſts. It appears by the commander in chief, General St. Clair's exculpatory letter to the congreſs, as well as by the reſolutions of the council of war, which accompanies it, that his whole force, including 900 militia, who were to quit him in a few days, was only about 3000 men; that theſe were ill equipped, and worſe armed; particularly in the article of bayonets, an arm ſo eſſential in the defence of lines, that they had not one to ten of their number. This account would ſeem not only ſatisfactory but concluſive, if it had not been contradicted by others. In a detail of the tranſactions of the campaign,

campaign, tranſmitted by the war office of Maſſachuſetts Bay to the American deputies in France, and for the conveyance of which a light ſhip was ſent out on purpoſe, they ſtate St. Clair's force at near 5000 men well equipped and armed. It is, however, to be obſerved, that they talk with great bitterneſs of that General's conduct, as he had done in his firſt letter to congreſs, with reſpect to the behaviour of two of their regiments: It may alſo be ſuppoſed, that in a ſtatement of their affairs, intended to operate upon the ſentiments and conduct of a court, from which they already received eſſential benefits, and looked forward to much greater, they would rather increaſe the weight of blame upon an unfortunate officer, than detract from the public opinion of their own conduct and power, by attributing weakneſs to their councils, or inefficacy to their arms. 1777.

As the royal army approached to the object of its deſtination, it advanced with equal caution and order on both ſides of the lake, the naval force keeping its ſtation in the center, until the one had begun to encloſe the enemy on the land ſide, and the frigates and gun-boats caſt anchor juſt out of cannon ſhot from their works. Upon the near approach of the right wing on the Ticonderoga ſide, upon the 22d of July, the Americans immediately abandoned and ſet fire to their works, block-houſes, and ſaw-mills, towards Lake George, and without ſally, interruption, or the ſmalleſt motion of diverſion, permitted Major General Phillips to take poſſeſſion of the very advantageous poſt of Mount Hope, which beſides commanding their lines in a great and dangerous degree, totally cut off their communication with that lake. The ſame ſupineneſs and total want of vigour appeared in every thing on their ſide, except in the keeping up of an ineffectual roar of cannon, which was ſo much contemned on the other as not to be once returned.

In the mean while, the royal army proceeded with ſuch expedition in the conſtruction of its works, the bringing up of artillery, ſtores and proviſions, and the eſtabliſhment of its poſts and communications, that by the 5th, matters were ſo far advanced, as to require little more time for completely inveſting the poſts on both ſides of the lake. Sugar Hill was alſo examined, and the advantages it preſented were ſo important, though attended with infinite labour and difficulty, from the neceſſity of making a road to its top through very rough ground, and conſtructing a level there for a battery, that this arduous taſk was undertaken, and already far ad-

1777. vanced towards its completion, through the ſpirit, judgment, and active induſtry of General Phillips.

Ticonderoga evacuated by the American army

In theſe circumſtances, a haſty council was on that day held by the American Generals, to which their principal went, as he informs us, already predetermined as to his conduct. It was repreſented, that their whole effective numbers were not ſufficient to man one half of the works; that as the whole muſt conſequently be upon conſtant duty, it would be impoſſible for them to ſuſtain the fatigue for any length of time; and that as the enemy's batteries were ready to open, and the place would be completely inveſted on all ſides within 24 hours, nothing could ſave the troops, but an immediate evacuation of both poſts. This determination was unanimouſly agreed to by the council, and the place was accordingly evacuated on that night.

However juſtly this repreſentation of their condition and circumſtances was founded, and however neceſſary the determination of the council was in the preſent ſtate of their affairs, one apparently capital error on the ſide of the commanders, muſt ſtrike every common obſerver. If their force was not ſufficient for the defence of the works, why did they not form this reſolution in time? Why did they not withdraw the troops, artillery, and ſtores, and demoliſh the works before the arrival of the enemy? Why did they want to be nearly ſurrounded, until their retreat was more ruinous than a ſurrender under any conditions that could be propoſed, and little leſs deſtructive in the event, than if the works had been carried by ſtorm?

Theſe are queſtions that time and better information alone can anſwer, if ever they ſhould clearly anſwer, in favour of the American Generals.

The baggage of the army, with ſuch artillery, ſtores, and proviſions, as the neceſſity of the time would permit, were embarked with a ſtrong detachment on board, above 200 batteaux, and diſpatched, under convoy of five armed gallies, up the ſouth river, in their way to Skeneſborough. The main army took its route by the way of Caſtletown, to reach the ſame place by land.

July 6th. The firſt light of the morning had no ſooner diſcovered the flight of the enemy, than their main body was eagerly purſued by Brigadier General Frazer, at the head of his brigade, conſiſting of the light troops, grenadiers, and ſome other corps. Major General Reideſel was alſo ordered to join in the purſuit by land, with the greater part of the Brunſwick troops, either to ſupport the Brigadier, or to act ſeparately,

as

as occaſion might require, or circumſtances direct. The enemy left a prodigious artillery behind them, which with thoſe taken or deſtroyed in the armed veſſels at Skeneſborough, amounted to no leſs than 128 pieces, of all ſorts, ſerviceable and unſerviceable. They alſo left ſome military ſtores of different ſorts, and no inconſiderable ſtock of proviſions in the forts. 1777.

General Burgoyne conducted the purſuit by water in perſon. That bridge and thoſe works, which the Americans had laboured hard for ten months to render impenetrable, were cut through in leſs time by the Britiſh ſeamen and artificers, than it would have coſt them to have deſcribed their ſtructure. In a word, they did their buſineſs with ſuch ſpeed and effect, that not only the gun boats, but the Royal George and Inflexible frigates, had paſſed through the bridge by nine o'clock in the morning. Several regiments embarked on board the veſſels, and the purſuit up the river was ſupported with ſuch vigour, that by three o'clock in the afternoon, the foremoſt brigade of the gun-boats, was cloſely engaged with the enemies gallies near Skeneſborough Falls. In the mean time, three regiments which had been landed at South Bay, aſcended and paſſed a mountain, with great expedition, in order to attack the enemy's works at the falls, and thereby cut off their retreat. But their ſpeedy flight prevented the execution of that deſign. Upon the approach of the frigates, the gallies, which were already overborne by the gun-boats, loſt all ſpirit; two of them were accordingly taken, and three blown up. The rebels now giving way to their deſpair, ſet fire to their works, ſtockaded forts, mills, and batteaux, after which they eſcaped as well as they could up the Wood Creek. This ſtroke ſeemed to complete the ruin of their ill-fated army, for the batteaux were deeply loaded, beſides their baggage, with ammunition, ſtores, and proviſions; ſo that they were now left naked in the woods, deſtitute of proviſion, and without any other means of defence, than what they derived from the arms in their hands.

Confuſion and diſmay, equally attended their main body on the left. The ſoldiers had loſt all reſpect for, and confidence in their commanders. It would be fruitleſs to expect reſolution, where no order nor command could be maintained.

Brigadier Frazer continued and ſupported the chace through the vehement heat of a burning day, with his uſual activity and vigour. Having received intelligence that the enemy's rear were at no great diſtance, and were commanded

1777. ed by Colonel Francis, one of their beſt and braveſt officers, his troops lay that night on their arms. He came up with the enemy, at five in the morning, whom he found ſtrongly poſted, with great advantage of ground, and a ſtill greater ſuperiority in point of number. As he expected every moment to be joined by General Reideſel, and was apprehenſive that the enemy might eſcape if he delayed, he did not heſitate to begin the attack. The advantages which they poſſeſſed in ground and number, and perhaps more than both, the goodneſs of their commander, induced them to make a better ſtand than might have been expected from their condition in other reſpects.

As Frazer's corps was not ſupported near ſo ſoon as had been expected, the engagement was long; and though the light infantry and grenadiers gave ſeveral ſtriking proofs of their ſuperiority, affairs were ſtill undecided and critical. The arrival of the Germans was at length deciſive. The enemy fled on all ſides, leaving their brave commander, with many other officers, and above 200 private men, dead on the field. About the ſame number, beſides a Colonel, ſeven Captains, and ten Subalterns, were taken priſoners. Above 600 were ſuppoſed to be wounded, many of whom periſhed miſerably in the woods. The principal loſs on the ſide of the royal army, was that of Major Grant, a brave officer, who was killed. St. Clair, with the van of the American army, was at this time at Caſtletown, about ſix miles farther on. Upon the account of this diſaſter, and of the more fatal ſtroke at Skenſborough, and under the apprehenſion of being intercepted at Fort Anne, he ſtruck on to the woods on his left, probably uncertain whether he ſhould direct his courſe towards the New England provinces and the upper part of the Connecticut, or to Fort Edward.

During theſe advantages on the left, Colonel Hill was detached with the 9th regiment from Skenſborough towards Fort Anne, in order to intercept the fugitives who fled along the Wood Creek, whilſt another part of the army was employed in carrying batteaux over the falls, in order to facilitate their movement to diſlodge the enemy from that poſt. In that expedition, the Colonel was attacked by a body of the enemy, conſiſting as he conceived, of ſix times the number of his detachment, who finding all their efforts in front totally ineffectual to force the judicious poſition which he had taken, attempted to ſurround the regiment. This alarming attempt, put him under a neceſſity of changing his ground in the heat of action.

Nothing

1777.

——Nothing leſs than the moſt perfect diſcipline, ſupported by the cooleſt intrepidity, could have enabled the regiment to execute ſo critical a movement in the face of the enemy, and in ſuch circumſtances. It was however performed with ſuch ſteadineſs and effect, that the enemy, after an attack of three hours, were ſo totally repulſed, and with ſuch loſs, that after ſetting fire to Fort Anne, they fled with the utmoſt precipitation towards Fort Edward, upon the Hudſon's river.

The loſs of the royal army, in all this ſervice, and in ſo many different engagements, ſome of which were warm, and ſeemed liable to loſs, was very ſmall. The whole in killed and wounded, not much exceeding two hundred men.

Succeſs of the northern army under Gen. Burgoyne.

Such was the rapid torrent of ſucceſs, which ſwept every thing away before the northern army in its outſet. It is not to be wondered at, if both officers and private men were highly elated with their fortune, and deemed that and their proweſs to be irreſiſtible; if they regarded their enemy with the greateſt contempt, and conſidered their own toils to be nearly at an end. Albany to be already in their hands; and the reduction of the northern provinces to be rather a matter of ſome time, than an arduous taſk full of difficulty and danger.

At home, the joy and exultation was extreme; not only at court, but with all thoſe who hoped or wiſhed the unqualified ſubjugation, and unconditional ſubmiſſion of the colonies. The loſs in reputation was greater to the Americans, and capable of more fatal conſequences, than even that of ground, of poſts, of artillery, or of men. All the contemptuous and moſt degrading charges which had been made by their enemies, of their wanting the reſolution and abilities of men, even in the defence of whatever was dear to them, were now repeated and believed. Thoſe who ſtill regarded them as men, and who had not yet loſt all affection to them as brethren; who alſo retained hopes that a happy reconciliation upon conſtitutional principles, without ſacrificing the dignity or the juſt authority of government on the one ſide, or a derelection of the rights of freemen on the other, was not even now impoſſible, notwithſtanding their favourable diſpoſitions in general, could not help feeling upon this occaſion, that the Americans ſunk not a little in their eſtimation. It was not difficult to diffuſe an opinion, that the war in effect was over; and that any further reſiſtance, would ſerve only to render the terms of their ſubmiſſion the worſe.

1777. worſe. Such were ſome of the immediate effects of the loſs of thoſe grand keys of North America, Ticonderoga and the lakes.

General Burgoyne continued for ſome days, with the army partly at Skeneſborough, and partly ſpread in the adjoining country. They were under the neceſſity of waiting for the arrival of tents, baggage, and proviſions. In the mean time, no labour was ſpared in opening roads by the way of Fort Anne, for advancing againſt the enemy. Equal induſtry was uſed in clearing the Wood Creek from the obſtacles of fallen trees, ſunken ſtones, and other impediments which had been laid in the way by the enemy, in order to open a paſſage for batteaux, for the conveyance of artillery, ſtores, proviſions, and camp equipage. Nor was leſs diligence uſed at Ticonderoga, in the carrying of gun-boats, proviſion veſſels, and batteaux, over land into Lake George. Theſe were all laborious works, but the ſpirit of the army was at that time ſuperior to toil or danger.

General Schuyler was at Fort Edward upon the Hudſon's river, where he was endeavouring to collect the militia, and had been joined by St. Clair, with the wretched remains of his army, who had taken a round about march of ſeven days through the woods, in which, from the exceeding badneſs of the weather, with the want of covering, proviſions, and all manner of neceſſaries, they had ſuffered the moſt extreme miſery. Many others of the fugitives had alſo arrived; but ſo totally broken down, that they were nearly as deſtitute of arms, ammunition, and all the materials of war, as they were of vigour, hope, ſpirit, to uſe them with effect.

Although the direct diſtance from Fort Anne, where the batteaux navigation on Wood Creek determined, or even from Skeneſborough to Fort Edward, was no greater, than what in England would be conſidered as a moderate ride of exerciſe, yet ſuch is the ſavage face and impracticable nature of the country, and ſuch were the artificial difficulties which the induſtry of the enemy had thrown in the way, that the progreſs of the army thither, was a work of much preparation, time, and labour. It will ſcarcely be believed in after times, and may now be received with difficulty in any other part of the world, that it coſt an active and ſpirited army, without any enemy in force to impede its progreſs, not many fewer days in paſſing from one part to another of a country, than the diſtance, in a direct line, would have meaſured miles. Yet ſuch, however extraordinary, is the fact.

fact. Beſides that the country was a wilderneſs in almoſt every part of the paſſage, the enemy had cut large timber trees in ſuch a manner, on both ſides of the road, as to fall acroſs and lengthways, with their branches interwoven; ſo that the troops had ſeveral layers of theſe frequently to remove, in places where they could not poſſibly take any other direction. The face of the country was likewiſe ſo broken with creeks and marſhes, that in that ſhort ſpace, they had no leſs than forty bridges to conſtruct, beſides others to repair; and one of theſe was of log work, over a moraſs two miles in extent. All theſe toils and difficulties were encountered and overcome by the troops with their uſual ſpirit and alacrity. The enemy were too weak, too much diſpirited, and probably too much afraid of the Indians, to add very materially to theſe difficulties. Some ſkirmiſhing and firing there was, however, on every day's march, in which, as uſual, they conſtantly came off loſers. 1777.

It is true, that General Burgoyne might have adopted another route to Hudſon's river, by which moſt of theſe particular difficulties would have been avoided. By returning down the South river to Ticonderoga, he might again have embarked the army on Lake George, and proceeded to the fort which takes its name, and lies at its head, from whence there is a waggon road to Fort Edward. To this it was objected, and probably with reaſon, that a retrogade motion in the height of victory, would tend greatly to abate that panic with which the enemy were confounded and overwhelmed; that it would even cool the ardour, and check the animation of the troops, to call them off from the proſecution of their ſucceſs, to a cold and ſpiritleſs voyage; and that their expedition would undoubtedly be checked by the reſiſtance and delay which they muſt expect at Fort George; whereas when the garriſon perceived that the army was marching in a direction, which was likely to cut off their retreat, they would undoubtedly conſult their ſafety in time, by abandoning the poſt.

The enemy abandoned Fort Edward, and retired to Saratoga, at the approach of the royal army, which, from the impediments we have ſeen in the march, was not until the end of July. The enthuſiaſm of the army, as well as of the General, upon their arrival on the Hudſon's river, which had been ſo long the object of their hopes and wiſhes, may be better conceived than deſcribed. As the enemy, by previouſly abandoning Fort George, and burning their veſſels had left the lake entirely open, a great embarkation of proviſions,

1777. viſions, ſtores, and neceſſaries was already arrived at that poſt from Ticonderoga. The army was accordingly fully and immediately employed, in tranſporting theſe articles, with artillery, batteaux, and ſuch other matters as they judged neceſſary for the proſecution of their future meaſures, from Fort George to Hudſon's river.

CHAP. XV.

The loſs of Ticonderoga, and the expected progreſs of the ſavages, excite great terror in the Americans. New-England governments notwithſtanding, ſhew no appearance of ſubmiſſion. Arnold ſent with reinforcements to the northern army. Ill effects from the cruelties of the Indians. Movements made down the North River, to Saratoga. Expedition to Bennington. Obſtinate defence of Fort Stanwix. Savage cruelties. Siege raiſed. Arnold arrives. General Gates takes the command of the American army. General Burgoyne paſſes the North River at Saratoga, to attack the enemy at Still Water. Severe and heavy actions on the 19th Sept. and 7th of Oct. Diſtreſſed ſituation of the royal army. Retreat to Saratoga. Surrounded on all ſides. Council of war. Terms of the convention. Expedition of Sir Henry Clinton and Gen Vaughan up the North River. Obſervations on the Campaign.

1777. NOTHING could exceed the aſtoniſhment and terror, which the loſs of Ticonderoga and its immediate conſequences, ſpread throughout the New England Provinces. The General's manifeſto, in which he diſplayed the powers and numbers of the ſavages, added perhaps to the effect. It was remarkable, however, that in the midſt of all theſe diſaſters, and conſequent terrors, no ſort of diſpoſition to ſubmit appeared in any quarter.

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The New England governments in particular, though most immediately menaced, did not sink under their apprehension of the common danger. They, as well as the congress, acted with vigour and firmness in their efforts to repel the enemy. Arnold, whom we have lately seen at the engagement at Danbury, was immediately sent to the reinforcement of the northern army, who carried with him a train of artillery which he received from Washington. On his arrival he drew the American troops back from Saratoga to Still Water, a central situation between that place, and the mouth of the Mohawk River, where it falls into Hudson's. This movement, was to be nearer at hand to check the progress of Colonel St. Leger, who was now advancing upon the former of these rivers. His forces were daily increased through the outrages of the savages, who, notwithstanding the regulations and endeavours of General Burgoyne, were too prone to the exercise of their usual cruelties, to be effectually restrained by any means. The friends of the royal cause, as well as its enemies, were equally victims to their indiscriminate rage. Among other instances of this nature, the murder of Miss Mc Crea, which happened some small time after, struck every breast with horror. Every circumstance of this horrid transaction served to render it more calamitous and afflicting. The young lady is represented to have been in all the innocence of youth, and bloom of beauty. Her father was said to be deeply interested in the royal cause; and to wind up the catastrophe of this odious tragedy, she was to have been married to a British officer on the very day that she was massacred. 1777. Miss Mc. Crea inhumanly murdered.

Occasion was thence taken to exasperate the people, and to blacken the royal party and army. People were too apt to jumble promiscuously, and to place in one point of view, the cruelties of these barbarians, and the cause in which they were exerted. They equally execrated both. Whilst they abhorred and detested that army, which submitted to accept of such an aid, they loudly condemned and reprobated that government, which could call such auxiliaries into a civil contest; thereby endeavouring, as they said, not to subdue but to exterminate, a people whom they affected to consider, and pretended to reclaim as subjects. General Gates, in the course of these transactions, was not wanting by several publications to aggravate and inflame the picture of these excesses; and with no small effect.

1777. By this means, the advantages expected from the terror excited by these savage auxiliaries were not only counteracted; but this terror rather, it may be thought, produced a directly contrary effect. The inhabitants of the open and frontier countries had no choice of acting; they had no means of security left, but by abandoning their habitations, and taking up arms. Every man saw the necessity of becoming a temporary soldier, not only for his own security, but for the protection and defence of those connections which are dearer than life itself. Thus an army was poured forth by the woods, mountains, and marshes, which in this part were thickly sown with plantations and villages. The Americans recalled their courage; and when their regular army seemed to be entirely wasted, the spirit of the country produced a much greater and more formidable force.

Difficulties underwhich G. Burgoyne's army laboured.

In the mean time, the army under General Burgoyne, in the neighbourhood of Fort Edward, began to experience those difficulties, which increased as it farther advanced, until they at length became insurmountable. From the 30th of July, to the 15th of August, the army was continually employed, and every possible measure used, for the bringing forward of batteaux, provisions and ammunition, from Fort George to the first navigable part of Hudson's River, a distance of about 18 miles. The toil was excessive in this service, and the effect in no degree equivalent to the expence of labour and time. The roads were in some parts steep, and in others required great repairs. Of the horses which had been supplied by contract in Canada, through the various delays and accidents attending so long and intricate a combination of passage by land and carriage by water, not more than one third were yet arrived. The industry of the General had been able to collect no more than 50 teams of oxen, in all the country through which he had marched, or this in which he at present sojourned. These resources were totally inadequate to the purposes of supplying the army with provisions for its current consumption, and to the establishment at the same time of such a magazine as would enable it to prosecute the further operations of the campaign. Exceeding heavy rains added to all these difficulties; and the impediments to the service were so various and stubborn, that after the utmost exertions for fifteen successive days, there was not above four days provision in store, nor above ten batteaux in the Hudson's River.

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In theſe embarraſſing and diſtreſſing circumſtances, the General received intelligence, that Colonel St. Leger had arrived before, and was conducting his operations againſt Fort Stanwix. He inſtantly and juſtly conceived, that a rapid movement forward at this critical juncture would be of the utmoſt importance. If the enemy proceeded up the Mohawk, and that St. Leger ſucceeded, he would be liable to get between two fires; or at any rate, General Burgoyne's army would get between him and Albany, ſo that he muſt either ſtand an action, or by paſſing the Hudſon's river, endeavour to ſecure a retreat higher up to the New-England provinces. If, on the other hand, he abandoned Fort Stanwix to its fate, and fell back to Albany, the Mohawk country would of courſe be entirely laid open, the junction with St. Leger eſtabliſhed, and the combined army at liberty and leiſure to preſcribe and chuſe its future line of operation. 1777.

The propriety of the movement was evident; but the difficulty lay, and great indeed it was, in finding means to carry the deſign into execution. To maintain ſuch a communication with Fort George during the whole time of ſo extenſive a movement, as would afford a daily ſupply of proviſion to an army, whilſt its diſtance was continually increaſing, and its courſe liable to frequent variation, was obviouſly impracticable. The army was too weak to afford a chain of poſts for ſuch an extent; continual eſcorts for every ſeparate ſupply would be a ſtill greater drain; and in either caſe, the enemy had a body of militia within a night's march, at White Creek, ſufficient to break the line of communication.

Some other ſource of ſupply was therefore to be ſought, or the deſign to be dropped, and the proſpect of advantage which it preſented totally relinquiſhed. The enemy received large ſupplies of live cattle from the New-England provinces, which paſſing the upper part of the Connecticut river, took the route to Mancheſter, Arlington, and other parts of the New Hampſhire grants, a tract of land diſputed between that province and New-York, until they were at length depoſited at Bennington, from whence they were conveyed, as occaſion required to the rebel army. Bennington lies between the forks of the Huſick river, before their obtaining that name, and without being touched by either, and not 20 miles to the eaſtward of Hudſon's, a place ſo obſcure, and ſo incapable from ſituation of being otherwiſe,

1777. wiſe, that nothing but the preſent troubles could have called it into notice. It was however at this time, beſides being a ſtore for cattle, a depoſit for large quantities of corn and other neceſſaries; and what rendered it an object of particular attention to the royal army, a large number of wheel carriages, of which they were in particular want, were alſo laid up there. This place was guarded by a body of militia, which underwent ſuch frequent changes that its number was neceſſarily uncertain.

The General ſaw that the poſſeſſion of this depoſit, would at once remove all the impediments that reſtrained the operations of the army, and enable him to proceed directly in the proſecution of his deſign. He accordingly laid a ſcheme to ſurprize the place, and entruſted the execution of it to the German Lieutenant-Colonel Beaum, who had been already ſelected, and was then preparing to conduct an expedition tending to ſimilar purpoſes, towards the borders of the Connecticut River.

The force allotted to this ſervice amounted to about 500 men, conſiſting of about 200 of Reideſel's diſmounted German dragoons, Captain Frazer's markſmen, the Canada volunteers, a party of provincials who were perfectly acquainted with the country, and about a hundred Indians; the corps carried with them two light pieces of artillery.

In order to facilitate this operation, and to be ready to take advantage of its ſucceſs, the army moved up the eaſt ſhore of Hudſon's River, where it encamped nearly oppoſite to Saratoga, having at the ſame time Lieutenant-Colonel Breyman's corps, conſiſting of the Brunſwick grenadiers, light infantry, and Chaſſeurs, poſted at Batten Kill, in order if neceſſary to ſupport Beaum.

The latter in his march fell in with a party of the enemy who were eſcorting ſome cattle and proviſions, both of which he took with little difficulty and ſent back to the camp. The ſame fatal impediment which retarded all the operations of the army, viz. the want of horſes and carriages, concurred with the badneſs of the roads in rendering Beaum's advance ſo tedious, that the enemy were well informed of his deſign, and had time to prepare for his reception. Upon his approach to the place, having received intelligence that the enemy were too ſtrong to be attacked by his preſent force with any proſpect of ſucceſs, he took a tolerable good poſt near Santcoick Mills, on the nearer branch of what becomes afterwards the Hoſick river, which

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is there called Walloon Creek, and at about four miles distance from Bennington; diſpatching at the ſame time an expreſs to the General with an account of his ſituation. 1777.

Colonel Breyman was accordingly diſpatched from Batten Kill to reinforce Beaum. That evil fortune now began to appear, which for ſome time continued to ſweep every thing before it. Breyman was ſo overlayed by bad weather, ſo ſunk and embarraſſed in bad roads, and met with ſuch delays from the weakneſs and tiring of horſes, and the difficulty of paſſing the artillery carriages, through a country ſcarcely practicable at any time, and now rendered much worſe by the continual rain, that he was from eight in the morning of the 15th of Auguſt, to four in the afternoon of the following day, notwithſtanding every poſſible exertion of men and officers, in getting forward about twenty-four miles.

A General Starke, who commanded the militia at Bennington, determined not to wait for the junction of the two parties, advanced in the morning, whilſt Breyman was yet ſtruggling with the difficulties of his march, to attack Beaum in his poſt, which he had entrenched, and rendered as defenſible as time and its nature would permit. The loyal provincials who were along with him, were ſo eager in their hopes to find what they wiſhed to be real, that when the enemy were ſurrounding his poſt on all ſides, they for ſome time perſuaded him, that they were bodies of armed friends who were coming to his aſſiſtance. The colonel ſoon diſcovered their error, and made a brave defence. His ſmall works being at length carried on every ſide, and his two pieces of cannon taken, moſt of the Indians, with ſeveral of the Provincials, Canadians, and Britiſh markſmen, eſcaped in the woods. The German dragoons, ſtill kept together, and when their ammunition was expended, were bravely led by their Colonel to charge with their ſwords. They were ſoon overwhelmed, and the ſurvivors, among whom was their wounded Colonel, were made priſoners. Aug. 16. Colonels Beaum and Breyman defeated.

Breyman, who had the hard fortune not to receive the ſmalleſt information of this engagement, arrived near the ſame ground about four in the afternoon, where inſtead of meeting his friends, he found his detachment attacked on all ſides by the enemy. Notwithſtanding the ſevere fatigue they had undergone, his troops behaved with great vigour and reſolution, and drove the Americans in the beginning

1777. from two or three different hills on which they had poſts. They were however at length overpowered, and their ammunition being unfortunately expended, although each ſoldier had brought out forty rounds in his pouch, they were obliged with great reluctance to abandon the two pieces of artillery they had brought with them, and to retreat in the beſt manner they could; a circumſtance to which the lateneſs of the evening was very favourable.

The loſs of men ſuſtained by theſe two engagements could not be leſs than five or ſix hundred, of whom, however, the greater part were priſoners. But this was not the only or the greateſt loſs. The reputation and courage which it afforded to the militia, to find that they were able to defeat regular forces; that neither Engliſhmen nor Germans were invincible, nor invulnerable to their impreſſion; and the hope and confidence excited by the artillery, and other trophies of victory, were of much greater conſequence. This was the firſt turn which fortune had taken in favour of the Americans in the northern war, ſince ſome time before the death of Montgomery; misfortune had ſucceeded misfortune, and defeat had trod upon the heels of defeat, ſince that period. This was the firſt inſtance in the preſent campaign, in which ſhe ſeemed even wavering, much leſs that ſhe for a moment quitted the royal ſtandard. The exultation was accordingly great on the one ſide; nor could the other avoid feeling ſome damp to that eagerneſs of hope, and receiving ſome check to that aſſured confidence of ſucceſs, which an unmixed ſeries of fortunate events muſt naturally excite.

St. Leger's attempt upon Fort Stanwix, (now named by the Americans Fort Schuyler) was ſoon after its commencement favoured by a ſucceſs ſo ſignal, as would in other caſes, and a more fortunate ſeaſon, have been deciſive, as to the fate of a ſtronger and much more important fortreſs. General Harkimer, a leading man of that country, was marching at the head of eight or nine hundred of the Tryon county militia, with a convoy of proviſions, to the relief of the fort. St. Leger, well aware of the danger of being attacked in his trenches, and of withſtanding the whole weight of the garriſon in ſome particular, and probably weak point at the ſame inſtant, judiciouſly detached Sir John Johnſon, with ſome regulars, the whole or part of his own regiment, and the ſavages, to lie in ambuſh in the woods, and intercept the enemy upon their march.

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It ſhould ſeem by the conduct of the militia and their leader, that they were not only totally ignorant of all military duties, but that they had even never heard by report of the nature of an Indian war, or of that peculiar ſervice in the woods, to which from its nature and ſituation their country was at all times liable. Without examination of their ground, without a reconnoitring, or flanking party, they plunged blindly into the trap that was laid for their deſtruction. Being thrown into ſudden and inevitable diſorder, by a near and heavy fire on almoſt all ſides, it was completed by the Indians, who inſtantly purſuing their fire, ruſhed in upon their broken ranks, and made a moſt dreadful ſlaughter amongſt them with their ſpears and hatchets. Notwithſtanding their want of conduct, the militia ſhewed no want of courage in their deplorable ſituation. In the midſt of ſuch extreme danger, and ſo bloody an execution, rendered ſtill more terrible by the horrid appearance and demeanour of the principal actors, they recollected themſelves ſo far as to recover an advantageous ground, which enabled them after to maintain a ſort of running fight, by which about one third of their number was preſerved. 1777. Aug. 16.

The loſs was ſuppoſed to be on their ſide about 400 killed, and half that number priſoners. It was thought of the greater conſequence, as almoſt all thoſe who were conſidered as the principal leaders and inſtigators of rebellion in that country were now deſtroyed. The triumph and exultation were accordingly great, and all oppoſition from the militia in that country, was ſuppoſed to be at an end. The circumſtance of old neighbourhood and perſonal knowledge between many of the parties, in the preſent rage and animoſity of faction, could by no means be favourable to the extenſion of mercy; even ſuppoſing that it might have been otherwiſe practiſed with prudence and ſafety, at a time when the power of the Indians was rather prevalent, and that their rage was implacable. For according to their computation and ideas of loſs, the ſavages had purchaſed this victory exceeding dearly, 33 of their number having been ſlain, and 29 wounded, among whom were ſeveral of their principal leaders, and of their moſt diſtinguiſhed and favourite warriors. The loſs accordingly rendered them ſo diſcontented, intractable, and ferocious, that the ſervice was greatly affected by their ill diſpoſition. The unhappy priſoners were however its firſt objects; moſt of whom they inhumanly butchered in cold blood. The

1777. New-Yorkers, rangers, and other troops, were not without loſs in this action.

On the day, and probably during the time of this engagement, the garriſon, having received intelligence of the approach of their friends, endeavoured to make a diverſion in their favour, by a vigorous and well-conducted ſally, under the direction of Colonel Willet, their ſecond in command. Willet conducted his buſineſs with ability and ſpirit. He did conſiderable miſchief in the camp, brought off ſome trophies, no inconſiderable ſpoil, ſome of which conſiſted in articles that were greatly wanted, a few priſoners, and returned with little or no loſs. He afterwards undertook, in company with another officer, a much more perilous expedition. They paſſed by night through the beſiegers works, and in contempt of the danger and cruelty of the ſavages, made their way for 50 miles through pathleſs woods and unexplored moraſſes, in order to raiſe the country, and bring relief to the fort. Such an action demands the praiſe even of an enemy.

Colonel St. Leger left no means untried to profit of his victory by intimidating the garriſon. He ſent verbal and written meſſages, ſtating their hopeleſs ſituation, the utter deſtruction of their friends, the impoſſibility of their obtaining relief, as General Burgoyne, after deſtroying every thing in his way, was now at Albany receiving the ſubmiſſion of all the adjoining countries, and by prodigiouſly magnifying his own force. He repreſented, that in this ſtate of things, if, through an incorrigible obſtinacy, they ſhould continue a hopeleſs and fruitleſs defence, they would, according to the practice of the moſt civilized nations, be cut off from all conditions, and every hope of mercy. But he particularly dwelt upon the pains he had taken in ſoftening the rage of the Indians for their late loſs, and obtaining from them ſecurity, that in caſe of an immediate ſurrender of the fort, every man of the garriſon ſhould be ſpared: whilſt on the other hand they declared with the utmoſt bitter execrations, that if they met with any further reſiſtance, they would not only maſſacre the garriſon, but that every man, woman and child in the Mohawk country would neceſſarily, and however againſt his will, fall ſacrifices to the fury of the ſavages. This point he ſaid he preſſed entirely on the ſcore of humanity; he promiſed on his part, in caſe of an immediate ſurrender, every attention which a humane and generous enemy could give.

The

The Governor, Colonel Ganſevort, behaved with great firmneſs. He replied, that he had been entruſted with the charge of that gaariſon by the United States of America; that he would defend the truſt committed to his care at every hazard, and to the utmoſt extremity; and that he neither thought himſelf accountable for, nor ſhould he at all concern himſelf about any conſequences that attended the diſcharge of his duty. It was ſhrewdly remarked in the fort, that half the pains would not have been taken, to diſplay the force immediately without, or the ſucceſs at a diſtance, if they bore any proportion at all to the magnitude in which they were repreſented. 1777.

The Britiſh commander was much diſappointed in the ſtate of the fort. It was ſtronger, in better condition, and much better defended than he expected. After great labour in his approaches, he found his artillery deficient, being inſufficient in weight to make any conſiderable impreſſion. The only remedy was to bring his approaches ſo near that they muſt take effect, which he ſet about with the greateſt diligence. In the mean time, the Indians continued ſullen and intractable. Their late loſſes might have been cured by certain advantages; but the misfortune was, they had yet got no plunder, and their proſpect of getting any ſeemed to grow every day fainter. It is the peculiar characteriſtic of that people, to exhibit in certain inſtances degrees of courage and perſeverance which ſhock reaſon and credibility, and to betray in others the greateſt irreſolution and timidity; with a total want of that conſtancy which might enable them for any length of time to ſtruggle with difficulty.

Col. St. Leger obliged to retreat from Fort Stanwix.

Whilſt the commander was carrying on his operations with the utmoſt induſtry, the Indians received a flying report that Arnold was coming with a thouſand men to relieve the fort. The commander endeavoured to hearten them, by promiſing to lead them himſelf, to bring all his beſt troops into action, and by carrying their leaders out to mark a field of battle, and the flattery of conſulting them upon the intended plan of operation. Whilſt he was thus endeavouring to ſoothe their temper, and to revive their flagging ſpirits, other ſcouts arrived with intelligence, probably contrived in part by themſelves, which firſt doubled, and afterwards trebled the number of the enemy, with the comfortable addition, that Burgoyne's army was entirely cut to pieces. The Colonel returned to camp, and called

1777. a council of their chiefs, hoping that by the influence which Sir John Johnſon, and the ſuperintendants Claus and Butler had over them, they might ſtill be induced to make a ſtand. He was diſappointed. A part of the Indians decamped whilſt the council was ſitting, and the remainder threatened peremptorily to abandon him if he did not immediately retreat.

Aug. 22. The retreat was of courſe precipitate; or it was rather, in plain terms, a flight, attended with diſagreeable circumſtances. The tents, with moſt of the artillery and ſtores, fell into the hands of the garriſon. It appears by the Colonel's own account, that he was as apprehenſive of danger from the fury of his ſavage allies, as he could be from the reſentment of his declared American enemies. It alſo appears from the ſame authority, that the Meſſaſages, a nation of ſavages to the weſt, plundered ſeveral of the boats belonging to the army. By the American accounts, which are in part confirmed by others, it is ſaid that they robbed the officers of their baggage, and of every other article to which they took any liking; and the army in general of their proviſions. They alſo ſay, that at a few miles diſtance from the camp, they firſt ſtripped of their arms, and afterwards murdered with their own bayonets, all thoſe Britiſh, German, and American ſoldiers, who from an inability to keep up, fear, or any other cauſe, were ſeparated from the main body.

The ſtate of the fact with reſpect to the intended relief of the fort is, that Arnold had advanced by the way of Half Moon up the Mohawk River with 2000 men for that purpoſe; and that for the greater expedition, he had quitted the main body, and arrived by forced marches through the woods, with a detachment of 900 at the fort, on the 24th in the evening, two days after the ſiege had been raiſed. So that upon the whole, the intractableneſs of the Indians, with their watchful apprehenſion of danger, probably ſaved them from a chaſtiſement, which would not have been tenderly adminiſtered.

Nothing could have been more untoward in the preſent ſituation of affairs, than the unfortunate iſſue of this expedition. The Americans repreſented this and the affair at Bennington as great and glorious victories. Nothing could exceed their exultation and confidence. Ganſevort and Willet, with General Starke and Colonel Warner, who had commanded at Bennington, were ranked amongſt thoſe

who

who were conſidered as the ſaviours of their country. The northern militia began now to look high, and to forget all diſtinctions between themſelves and regular troops. As this confidence, opinion and pride increaſed, the apprehenſion of General Burgoyne's army of courſe declined, until it ſoon became to be talked of with indifference and contempt, and even its fortune to be publicly prognoſticated. In the mean time, General Gates, on whoſe conduct and ability it appears the Americans had placed much reliance, arrived to take the command of the army; an event which gave a new ſpur to their exertion, and afforded an additional ſupport to their hopes. The arrival of Gates enabled Arnold, who ſtill held the next place in every thing to the commander in chief, and between whom it appears the moſt perfect harmony prevailed, to ſet out on that expedition to Fort Stanwix, which has been juſt related.

1777.

General Gates takes the command of the American army.

During this time, General Burgoyne continued in his camp on the eaſtern ſhore of the Hudſon's River, nearly oppoſite to Saratoga, where he uſed the moſt unremitting induſtry and perſeverance, in bringing ſtores and proviſions forward from Fort George. As a ſwell of the water occaſioned by great rains had carried away his bridge of rafts, he threw another of boats, over the river at the ſame place. Having at length by good management obtained and brought forward about thirty days proviſion, with other neceſſary ſtores, he took a reſolution of paſſing the Hudſon's River with the army, which he accordingly carried into execution towards the middle of September, and encamped on the heights and in the plain of Saratoga, the enemy being then in the neighbourhood of Still Water.

Gen. Burgoyne encamps at Saratoga.

Though this meaſure of paſſing the Hudſon's River, has not only been a ſubject of much diſcuſſion at home, but alſo of parliamentary enquiry; yet as it ſtill lies open, without any deciſion on its merits, and that the General's inſtructions are not publicly known, nor perhaps all his motives thoroughly underſtood, we ſhall not preſume to form any opinion upon the queſtion. It will be ſufficient to obſerve, that in his letter to the American Miniſter he ſays, That he thinks it a duty of juſtice to take upon himſelf the meaſure of having paſſed the Hudſon's River, in order to force a paſſage to Albany. And that he did not think himſelf authorized to call any men into council, when the peremptory tenor of his orders, and the ſeaſon of the year, admitted of no alternative. He alſo gives, in a ſubſequent

part

1777. part of the ſame letter, the following ſtate of his reaſoning, at a time when the army was in very critical and hazardous circumſtances. "The expedition I commanded was evi- "dently meant at firſt to be *hazarded*. Circumſtances "might require it ſhould be *devoted*; a critical junction of "Mr. Gates's force with Mr. Waſhington might poſſibly "decide the fate of the war; the failure of my junction "with Sir Harry Clinton, or the loſs of my retreat to Ca- "nada, could only be a partial misfortune." Whether his retreat was at this period quite practicable, even if his orders had not been to advance at all hazards, is uncertain.

Such it ſeems were the principles of the General's conduct in ſome of the ſucceeding events. As the army advanced along the river towards the enemy, they found the country very impracticable, being covered with thick woods,
Sept 19. and a continual repair of bridges neceſſary. Being at length arrived in the front of the enemy, ſome woods only of no great extent intervening, the General put himſelf at the head of the Britiſh line which compoſed the right wing. That wing was covered by General Frazer and Colonel Breyman, with the grenadiers and light infantry of the army, who kept along ſome high grounds which commanded its right flank, being themſelves covered by the Indians, provincials, and Canadians, in the front and flanks. The left wing and artillery, under the Majors General Phillips and Reideſel, kept along the great road and meadows by the river ſide.

The enemy, being incapable from the nature of the country, of perceiving the different combinations of the march, iſſued from their camp in great force, with a deſign of turning the right wing, and taking the Britiſh line on the flank. Being unexpectedly checked in this deſign, by the ſtrong poſition of General Frazer, they immediately countermarched, and the ſame particularity of country which had occaſioned their miſtake, now operating as effectually to prevent the diſcovery, and conſequently the taking any advantage of their ſubſequent movement, they directed their principal effort to the left of the ſame wing.

The Britiſh troops were not a little ſurprized, at the boldneſs with which they began the attack, and the vigour and obſtinacy with which it was ſuſtained, from three o'clock in the afternoon, till after ſunſet. Arnold led on the enemy, and ſought danger with an eagerneſs and intrepidity, which though much in his character, was at no time more eminently

eminently diſtinguiſhed. The enemy were, however, continually ſupplied with freſh troops, whilſt the weight of the action lay principally for a long time upon the 20th, the 21ſt and 62d regiments. It will be needleſs to ſay, that they behaved with their uſual firmneſs and gallantry, though it may not be totally ſuperfluous to obſerve, that the greater part of theſe three regiments, were engaged for near four hours without intermiſſion. 1777.

Moſt of the other corps of the army, bore alſo a good ſhare in the buſineſs of the day. The 24th regiment which belonged to Frazer's brigade, with the grenadiers and a part of the light infantry, were for ſome time brought into action, and charged with their uſual ſpirit and bravery. Breyman's rifleмen, and ſome other parts of his corps, alſo did good ſervice; but theſe troops only acted partially and occaſionally, as the heights on which they had originally poſted, were of too great importance to be totally evacuated.

Major General Phillips upon firſt hearing the firing, made his way with Major Williams and a party of the artillery through a very difficult part of the wood, and from that time rendered moſt eſſential ſervice. It ſeems as if in one inſtance his preſence of mind had nearly ſaved the army, when, in the moſt critical point of time, he reſtored the action by leading up the 20th regiment, the enemy having then obtained a great ſuperiority of fire. Though every part of the artillery, performed, almoſt wonders, the brave Captain Johnes (who was unfortunately, though gloriouſly, killed) with his brigade, were particularly diſtinguiſhed. Major-General Reideſel alſo exerted himſelf to bring up a part of the left wing, and arrived in time to charge the enemy with bravery and effect. Juſt as the light cloſed, the enemp retired; and left the royal army maſters of the field of battle. The darkneſs equally prevented purſuit and priſoners.

Upon the whole, the royal army gained nothing but honour by this arduous ſtruggle and hard fought battle. They had now grappled with ſuch an enemy as they had never before encountered in America; and ſuch as they were too apt to imagine it could not produce. The flattering ideas that the Americans could fight under the covert of walls, hedges, or entrenchments, and were incapable of ſuſtaining a fair and open conflict in the field, were now at an end. This opinion had alſo been in ſome meaſure ſhaken

in

1777. in the ſouth. Here they met with a foe who ſeemed as eager for action, as careleſs of danger, and as indifferent with reſpect to ground or cover as themſelves; and after a hard and cloſe conteſt for four hours, hand to hand, when darkneſs put an end to the engagement, the royal forces but barely kept the field, and the Americans only returned to their camp.

We loſt many brave men in this action, and it was not much matter of comfort that the Americans had loſt a great number. The army lay all night on their arms in the field of battle, and in the morning took poſition nearly within cannon ſhot of the enemy's camp, fortifying their right wing, and extending their left ſo as to cover thoſe meadows through which the river runs, and where their batteaux and Hoſpitals were placed. The 47th regiment, with that of Heſſe Hanau, and a corps of provincials, were encamped in the meadows as an additional ſecurity. The enemy's right was incapable of approach, and their left was too ſtrongly fortified to be inſulted.

The zeal and alacrity of the Indians began from that time to ſlacken. Though the General complains in his diſpatches of the ill effect of their deſertion, he does not ſpecify the particular time of their abandoning the army. This cloſe and dangerous ſervice was by no means ſuited to their diſpoſition, and the proſpects of plunder were principles for which they had no terms, and of which they could frame no ideas. Some letters had paſſed between Gates and General Burgoyne, in which bitter reproaches relative to the barbarities committed by the ſavages were thrown out by the one, and thoſe charges were in general denied, and in part palliated by the other. The ſavages likewiſe received ſome check on account of the murder of Miſs M'Crea. Upon ſome or all of theſe accounts they deſerted the army in the ſeaſon of its danger and diſtreſs, when their aid would have been moſt particularly uſeful; and afford a ſecond inſtance within a ſhort time of the little reliance that ſhould be placed on ſuch auxiliaries.

A great deſertion alſo prevailed amongſt the Canadians and Britiſh provincials, nor does it ſeem as if the fidelity or ſervices of thoſe who remained were much depended on or eſteemed. General Burgoyne had from the beginning, nor did it entirely forſake him to this time, a firm hope of being powerfully ſuccoured if wanted, or at any rate of being met and joined at Albany, by a ſtrong force from the army

army at New-York. He now received with great difficulty a letter in cypher from Sir Harry Clinton, informing him of his intention to make a diverſion on the North River, by attacking Fort Montgomery, and ſome other fortreſſes which the rebels had erected in the highlands, in order to guard the paſſage up that river to Albany. Though this diverſion fell far ſhort of the aid which the General expected, he however hoped that it might afford eſſential ſervice by obliging Gates to divide his army. He accordingly returned the meſſenger, and afterwards diſpatched two officers in diſguiſe, and other confidential perſons, all ſeparately and by different routes, to acquaint Clinton with his exact ſtate, ſituation and condition; to preſs him urgently to the proſecution of his deſign; and to inform him that he was enabled in point of proviſion, and fixed in his determination, to hold his preſent poſition, in the hopes of favourable events, until the 12th of the following month. 1777.

In the mean time every means were uſed for fortifying the camp, and ſtrong redoubts were erected for the protection of the magazines and hoſpitals, not only to guard againſt any ſudden attack, but for their ſecurity in any future movement which the army might make in order to turn the enemy's flank. The ſtricteſt watch on the motions of the enemy, and attention on every quarter to their own ſecurity, became every day more indiſpenſable, as Gates's army was continually increaſing in force by the acceſſion of freſh bodies of the militia.

The ſpirit of exertion and enterprize which was now raiſed in the New-England provinces, was become too general, and too much animated by ſucceſs to be eaſily withſtood at once in all the different parts of its direction. Whilſt General Burgoyne was fully engaged with Gates and Arnold, and found himſelf immediately involved in circumſtances ſufficiently perplexing, all his difficulties were increaſed, and his ſituation was rendered much more critical and precarious, by an unexpected enterprize of the militia from the upper part of New Hampſhire and the head of the Connecticut, totally to cut off all means of communication with Canada, by recovering the forts of Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, and becoming again maſters at leaſt of Lake George.

The expedition was under the direction of General Lincoln, and the immediate execution was committed to the Colonels Brown, Johnſton, and Woodbury, with detachments

1777. ments of about 500 men each. They concluded their operations with ſuch ſecrecy and addreſs, that they effectually
Sept. 17. ſurprized all the out poſts between the landing place at the north end of Lake George, and the body of the fortreſs of Ticonderoga. Mount Defiance, Mount Hope, the French lines, and a block-houſe, with 200 batteaux, an armed ſloop, and ſeveral gun-boats, were almoſt inſtantly taken. Four companies of foot, with nearly an equal number of Canadians, and many of the officers and crews of the veſſels, were made priſoners; whilſt they afforded freedom to a number of their own people, who were confined in ſome of the works they had taken. In this heat of ſucceſs, they brought the cannon out of the armed veſſel they had taken, and after repeated ſummons to Brigadier Powel who commanded, and who gallantly rejected all their propoſals, they for four days made reiterated attacks upon the works at Ticonderoga and Mount Independence; until finding that they were repulſed in every aſſault, and totally unequal to the ſervice, they at length abandoned the deſign.

In the beginning of October General Burgoyne thought it expedient, from the uncertainty of his ſituation, to leſſen the ſoldiers ration of proviſion; a meaſure which however diſagreeable to an army, was now ſubmitted to with a chearfulneſs which merited the higheſt regards, and did the higheſt honour to the troops. Things continued in this ſtate till the 7th of October, when there being no appearance or intelligence of the expected co-operation, and the time limited for the ſtay of the army in its preſent camp within four or five days of being expired, it was judged adviſable to make a movement to the enemy's left, not only to diſcover whether there were any poſſible means of forcing a paſſage, ſhould it be neceſſary to advance, or of diſlodging them for the convenience of retreat, but alſo to cover a forage of the army, which was exceedingly diſtreſſed by the preſent ſcarcity.

A detachment of 1500 regular troops, with 2 twelve-pounders, 2 howitzers, and 6 ſix-pounders, were ordered to move, being commanded by the General in perſon, who was ſeconded by thoſe excellent officers the Majors General Phillips and Reideſel, with Brigadier General Frazer. No equal number of men were ever better commanded, and it would have been difficult indeed, to have matched the men with an equal number. The guard of the camp upon the high

high grounds, was committed to the Brigadiers General Hamilton and Speigh; that of the redoubts and the plain near the River, to Brigadier Goll. The force of the enemy immediately in the front of the line, was ſo much ſuperior, that it was not thought fit to augment the detachment beyond the number we have ſtated. 1777.

The troops were formed within three quarters of a mile of the enemy's left, and the irregulars were puſhed on through bye ways to appear as a check on their rear. But the further intended operations of the detachment were prevented, by a very ſudden and moſt rapid attack of the enemy upon the Britiſh grenadiers, who were poſted to ſupport the left wing of the line. Major Ackland, at the head of the grenadiers, ſuſtained this fierce attack with great reſolution; but the numbers of the enemy enabling them, in a few minutes, to extend the attack along the whole front of the Germans, who were poſted immediately on the right of the grenadiers, it became impracticable to move any part of that body, for the purpoſe of forming a ſecond line to ſupport the flank, where the great weight of the fire ſtill fell.

The right were ſtill unengaged; but it was ſoon perceived that the enemy were marching a ſtrong body round their flank, in order to cut off their retreat. To oppoſe this bold and dangerous attempt, the light infantry, with a part of the 24th. regiment, which were joined with them at that poſt, were thrown into a ſecond line, in order to cover the retreat of the troops into camp.

Whilſt this motion was yet in its proceſs, the enemy puſhed a freſh and ſtrong reinforcement to decide the action on the left, which being totally overpowered by ſo great a ſuperiority, was compelled by dint of force to give way; upon which the light infantry and 24th regiment were obliged by a very quick movement, to endeavour to ſave that wing from being totally ruined. It was in this movement that the brave brigadier General Frazer was mortally wounded. An officer whoſe loſs would have been ſeverely felt, and his place with difficulty ſupplied in a corps of the moſt accompliſhed officers. General Frazer killed.

The ſituation of the detachment was now exceedingly critical; but the danger to which the lines were expoſed was ſtill more alarming and ſerious. Phillips and Reideſel were ordered to cover the retreat, and thoſe troops which were neareſt, or moſt diſengaged, returned as faſt as they could

1777. could for their defence. The troops in general retreated in good order, though very hard preſſed. They were obliged to abandon ſix pieces of cannon; the horſes not only being deſtroyed, but moſt of the brave artillery men, who had as uſual, under the conduct of Major Williams, diſplayed the utmoſt ſkill and ability in their profeſſion, along with the moſt undaunted reſolution, being either killed, or dangerouſly wounded.

The enemy purſued this ſucceſs with great eagerneſs. The troops had ſcarce entered the camp, when the Americans ſtormed it with uncommon fierceneſs; ruſhing to the lines through a ſevere fire of grape ſhot and ſmall arms, with the utmoſt fury. Arnold led on the attack with his uſual impetuoſity, againſt a part of the entrenchments into which the light infantry under Lord Balcarras, with a part of the line, had thrown themſelves by order. He there met with a brave and obſtinate reſiſtance. The action continued very warm for ſome time, each ſide ſeeming to vie with the other in ardour and perſeverance. In this critical moment of glory and danger, Arnold wa sgrievouſly wounded, juſt as he was forcing his way into, or had already entered the works. This could not fail to damp his party, who after long and repeated efforts were finally repulſed.

Colonel Breyman killed, and the royal army defeated.

Affairs were not ſo fortunate in another quarter. Colonel Breyman, who commanded the German reſerve, being killed, the entrenchments defended by that corps were carried ſword in hand, and they were totally routed with the loſs of their baggage, tents and artillery. This misfortune was not retrieved, although orders for the recovery of the poſt were diſpatched by the General; and his relation ſeems to imply ſome blame to thoſe who failed in the execution. By this means the enemy gained a dangerous opening on our right and rear. The night only put an end to the engagement.

It would ſeem that nothing could now exceed the diſtreſſes and calamity of the army. They bore it with that excellency of temper, and reſolution, which are natural to, and were worthy of Britiſh ſoldiers. It was evidently impoſſible to continue in their preſent ſituation, without ſubmitting to a certainty of deſtruction on the enſuing day. A total change of poſition was accordingly undertaken, and as it ſeems to have been conceived with great judgment, was carried into execution during the night with a degree of

of coolneſs, ſilence, order and intrepidity, which has ſeldom been equalled, and will certainly be never exceeded. It was not the movement of a wing or a part, it was a general remove of the whole army, of the camp and artillery, from its late ground, to the heights above the hoſpital; thus by an entire change of front, to reduce the enemy to the neceſſity of forming an entire new diſpoſition. All this was accompliſhed in the darkneſs, and under the doubt and apprehenſion of ſuch a night, ſo fatally uſhered in, and accompanied throughout with circumſtances of ſuch uncommon peril, as were ſufficient to diſturb the beſt formed mind, and to ſhake the firmeſt reſolution without loſs, and what was ſtill more, without diſorder. 1777.

Many brave men fell on this unfortunate day. The officers ſuffered exceedingly. Several who had been grievouſly wounded in the late action, and who diſdained an abſence from any danger in which their fellows were involved, were again wounded in this. Among thoſe of greater note, or who were diſtinguiſhed by higher rank, who fell, beſides general Frazer, and Colonel Breyman, whom we have mentioned, Sir James Clarke, Aid de Camp to General Burgoyne, was mortally wounded and taken priſoner. Major Williams of the artillery, and Major Ackland of the grenadiers, were alſo taken, the latter being wounded. Upon the whole, the liſts of killed and wounded, though avowedly imperfect, and not including the Germans, were long and melancholy.

On the next day, the army being ſenſible that nothing Oct. 8th.
leſs than a ſucceſsful and deciſive action could extricate them from their preſent difficulties, continued without effect, during its courſe, to offer battle repeatedly in their new poſition, to the enemy. They were preparing with great coolneſs, the carrying of meaſures into execution, which were leſs dangerous, though not leſs effectual, than the attack of a brave and deſperate enemy, in ſtrong and fortified ground, a continued ſucceſſion of ſkirmiſhes were, however, carried on, and theſe did not paſs without loſs on both ſides.

In the mean time, the Britiſh General diſcovered, that Retreat of
the enemy had puſhed a ſtrong body forward to turn his the Engright, which if effected, he would have been completely liſh army
encloſed on every ſide. Nothing was left to prevent this to Saratofatal conſequence, but an immediate retreat to Saratoga. ga.
The army accordingly began to move at nine o'clock at

1777. night; and tho' the movement was within muſket ſhot of the enemy, and the army encumbered in its retreat with all its baggage, it was made without loſs. A heavy rain which fell that night, and continued the enſuing day, though it impeded the progreſs of the army, and increaſed the difficulties of the march, ſerved at the ſame time to retard, and in a great meaſure to prevent the purſuit of the enemy. In this unhappy neceſſity, the hoſpital with the ſick and wounded, was of courſe, and muſt have been inevitably abandoned. In this inſtance, as well as in every other which occurred in the courſe of theſe tranſactions, General Gates behaved with an attention and humanity, to all thoſe whom the fortune of war had thrown into his hands, which does honour to his character.

On the ſide of the Americans, the loſs in killed and wounded was great; and is ſuppoſed exceeded that of the Britiſh. They, however, loſt no officer of note; but the generals Lincoln, and Arnold were both dangerouſly wounded.

From the impediments in the march which we have mentioned the army did not croſs the fords of the Fiſh Kill Creek, which lies a little to the northward of Saratoga, until the 10th in the morning. They found a body of the enemy already arrived, and throwing up entrenchments on the heights before them, who retired at their approach over a ford of the Hudſon's river, and there joined a greater force, which was ſtationed to prevent the paſſage of the army. No hopes now remained but that of effecting a retreat, at leaſt as far as fort George, on the way to Canada. For this purpoſe, a detachment of artificers under a ſtrong eſcort, was ſent forward to repair the bridges, and open the road to Fort Edward. But they were not long departed from the camp, when the ſudden appearance of the enemy in great force, on the oppoſite heights, with their apparent preparation to paſs the Fiſh Kill, and bring on an immediate engagement, rendered it neceſſary to recal the 47th regiment, and Frazer's markſmen, who with Mackay's provincials compoſed the eſcort. The workmen had only commenced the repair of the firſt bridge, when they were abandoned by their provincial guard, who ran away and left them to ſhift for themſelves, only upon a very ſlight attack of an inconſiderable part of the enemy. All the force of diſcipline, and all the ſtubbornneſs derived from

from its moſt confirmed habits were now neceſſary to ſupport even the appearance of reſolution. 1777.

The farther ſhore of the Hudſon's river, was now lined with detachments of the enemy, and the batteaux loaden with proviſions and neceſſaries, which had attended the motions of the army up the river, ſince its departure from the neighbourhood of Still Water, were expoſed, notwithſtanding any protection which could poſſibly be afforded, to the continual fire and attacks of theſe detachments. Many boats were taken, ſome retaken, and a number of men loſt in the ſkirmiſhes, upon theſe occaſions. At length it was found the proviſions could only be preſerved by landing and bringing them up the hill to the camp; a labour which was accompliſhed under a heavy fire with difficulty and loſs.

In theſe deplorable circumſtances councils of war were held, to conſider of the poſſibility of a further retreat. The only meaſure that carried even the appearance of practicability, hard, difficult, and dangerous as it was, was by a nigh march to gain Fort Edward, the troops carrying their proviſions upon their backs. The impoſſibility of repairing the roads and bridges, and of conveying in their preſent ſituation the artillery and carriages, were too evident to admit of a queſtion. It was propoſed to force the fords at or near Fort Edward.

Whilſt preparations were making for carrying this forlorn and deſperate reſolve into execution, intelligence was received, that the enemy had already with great foreſight, provided for every poſſible meaſure that could be adopted for an eſcape, and that this final reſort was accordingly cut off. Beſides being ſtrongly entrenched oppoſite to the fords which it was intended to paſs, they had a camp in force, and provided with artillery, on the high and ſtrong grounds, between Fort Edward and Fort George; whilſt their party were every where ſpread along the oppoſite ſhore of the river, to watch or intercept the motions of the army, and on their own, the enemy's poſts were ſo cloſe, that they could ſcarcely make the ſmalleſt movement without diſcovery.

Nothing could be more deplorably calamitous, than the ſtate and ſituation of the army. Worn down by a ſeries of hard toil, inceſſant effort, and ſtubborn action; abandoned in their utmoſt neceſſity and diſtreſs by the Indians; weakened by the deſertion, or diſappointed and diſcouraged

1777. by the timidity and inefficacy of the Canadians and Provincials; and the regular troops reduced by repeated and heavy losses, of many of their best men and most distinguished officers, to the number of only 3,500 effective fighting men, of whom not quite 2,000 were British. In these circumstances, and in this state of weakness, without a possibility of retreat, and their provision just exhausted, they were invested by an army of four times their own number, whose position extended three parts in four of a circle round them; who refused to fight from a knowledge of their condition; and who from the nature of the ground could not be attacked in any part.

In this helpless condition, obliged to lie constantly on their arms, whilst a continued cannonade pervaded all the camp, and even rifle and grape shot fell in every part of the lines, the British troops retained their constancy, temper, and fortitude, in a wonderful and almost unparalleled manner. As true courage submits with great difficulty to despair, they still flattered themselves with the hope of succour from their friends on the New-York side, or, perhaps with not less fervent wishes, of an attack from the enemy; thereby to quit all scores at once, and either to have an opportunity of dying gallantly, or extricating themselves with honour. The enemy's force was continually increased by the pouring in of the militia from all parts, who were all eager to partake of the glory, the spoil, or the pleasure of beholding the degradation of those whom they had so long dreaded, and whom they unhappily considered as their most implacable enemies.

At length, no succour appearing, and no rational ground of hope of any kind remaining, an exact account of the provisions was taken on the evening of the 13th of October, when it was found that the whole stock in hand, would afford no more than three days bare subsistence for the army. A council was immediately called; and the General thinking it right and just, in a matter so momentous to individuals, as well as the whole, to obtain a general opinion and suffrage of the army, so far as it could with propriety be collected, invited, besides the Generals and field officers, all the Captains commanding corps or divisions, to assist at the council. The result was, an unanimous determination to open a treaty and enter into a convention with General Gates.

Gates

Gates ſhewed no marks of arrogance, nor betrayed any ſigns of being carried away by the preſent extraordinary torrent of ſucceſs. The terms were moderate, conſidering the ruined ſtate and irretrievable circumſtances of the army; and that it was already in effect at the enemy's mercy, being equally incapable of ſubſiſting where it was, and of making its way to a better ſituation. The principal difficulty related to a point of military honour, in which the Britiſh Generals and troops were peremptory, and Gates far from being rigid. 1777.

The principal articles of the convention, excluſive of thoſe which related to the proviſion and accommodation of the army, in its way to Boſton, and during its ſtay at that place, were, that the army ſhould march out of the camp with all the honours of war, and its camp artillery, to a fixed place where they were to depoſit their arms: To be allowed a free embarkation and paſſage to Europe from Boſton, upon condition of their not ſerving again in America, during the preſent war; the army not to be ſeparated, particularly the men from the officers; roll-calling, and other duties of regularity to be admitted; the officers to be admitted on parole, and to wear their ſide arms; all private property to be ſacred, and the public delivered upon honour; no baggage to be ſearched or moleſted; all perſons of whatſoever country, appertaining to, or following the camp, to be fully comprehended in the terms of capitulation; and the Canadians to be returned to their own country, liable to its conditions. Oct. 17. Convention of the royal army with Gen. Gates.

General Gates fulfilled all the conditions, ſo far as he was, or could be concerned in them, with the utmoſt punctuality and honour. His humanity and politeneſs, in every part of this buſineſs, have been much celebrated; without a ſingle detraction, ſo far as we have heard, from the moſt favourable accounts that have been given of his conduct. This was the more praiſe-worthy, as ſome late, as well as former circumſtances, had highly enraged the American militia; the army in its laſt movements, whether from military neceſſity, or the vexation and ill-temper incident to their ſituation, or the joint operation of both, having burnt and deſtroyed many houſes, and ſome of them buildings of great value. The extraordinary and ſevere execution which now took place upon the North River, would alſo have afforded too much colour for a different mode of conduct. It is even ſaid, and we do not find that

1777. it has been contradicted, that this General paid ſo nice and delicate an attention to the Britiſh military honour, and to the character and feelings of thoſe brave troops, who now experienced ſo deplorable a reverſe of fortune, that he kept his army cloſe within their lines, and did not ſuffer an American ſoldier to be a witneſs to the degrading ſpectacle of piling their arms.

The Americans ſtate the whole number who laid down their arms, including Canadians, Provincials, volunteers, regulars, and irregulars, of all ſorts, at 5752 men. In this number is undoubtedly included, though not ſpecified, all the artificers, labourers, and followers of the camp. They alſo ſtate the number of ſick and wounded left in the hoſpitals at the retreat from the camp near Still Water, to 528 men, and the loſs beſides in the army in killed, wounded, taken, or deſerted, from the 6th of July downwards, to 2,933; the total amount of theſe numbers being 9,213 men. By another account, the number is carried about ten thouſand. They alſo got a fine train of braſs artillery, amounting to 35 pieces of different ſorts and ſizes.

During theſe unfortunate tranſactions, Lieutenant General Sir Henry Clinton, conducted his expedition up the North River with great ſucceſs. He had embarked about 3000 men for that ſervice, accompanied by a ſuitable naval force, conſiſting of ſhips of war, armed gallies, and ſmaller veſſels, under the conduct of commodore Hotham. Their firſt object was the reduction of the fort Montgomery and Clinton, which tho' of conſiderable ſtrength, being at that time in a very unguarded ſtate, it was determined to attempt by a coup de main. They were ſituated on either ſide of a creek, which deſcended from the mountains to the North River, and their communications preſerved by a bridge. Several neceſſary motions being made to maſk the real deſign, the troops were landed in two diviſions, at ſuch a diſtance from their object, as occaſioned a conſiderable and difficult march through the mountains; which was however calculated and conducted with ſuch preciſion, that the two detachments arrived on the oppoſite ſides of the creek,

Oct. 6. and began their ſeparate attack on the forts, at nearly the ſame time. The ſurprize and terror of the garriſons was increaſed by the appearance of the ſhips of war, and the arrival and near fire of the gallies, which approached ſo cloſe as to ſtrike the walls with their oars. The aſſault on both ſides of the creek was exceedingly vigorous, and the impetuoſity

tuoſity of the troops ſo great, that notwithſtanding a very conſiderable defence, both the forts were carried by ſtorm. As the ſoldiers were much irritated, as well by the fatigue they had undergone, and the oppoſition they met, as by the loſs of ſome brave and favourite officers, the ſlaughter of the enemy was conſiderable. 1777.

Upon the loſs of the forts, the rebels ſet fire to two fine new frigates, and to ſome other veſſels, which with their artillery and ſtores were all conſumed. Another fort called Conſtitution, was in a day or two after, upon the approach of the combined land and naval force, precipitately ſet on fire and abandoned. General Tryon alſo, at the head of a detachment, deſtroyed a new and thriving ſettlement called Continental Village, which contained barracks for 1500 men, with conſiderable ſtores. The artillery taken in the three forts, amounted to 67 pieces of different ſizes. A large quantity of artillery and other ſtores, with ammunition and proviſions, were alſo taken. A large boom and chain, the making of which was ſuppoſed to have coſt 70,000l. and the conſtruction of which was conſidered as an extraordinary proof of American labour, induſtry, and ſkill, was in part deſtroyed, and in part carried away. Upon the whole, the American loſs in value, was probably greater than upon any other occaſion ſince the commencement of the war. Their ſtrength and attention were drawn away to the northward, and other things muſt have been neglected, whilſt they applied both to the principal object.

Our loſs in killed and wounded was not great as to number, but ſome diſtinguiſhed and much lamented officers fell. Of theſe, beſides Lieutenant Colonel Campbell, who commanded the attack on Fort Montgomery, Major Sill, was from the general eſteem he had acquired through his many excellent qualities, univerſally regretted. Major Grant of the New York volunteers, and Count Grabouſki, a Poliſh nobleman, and Aid de Camp to General Clinton, were alſo ſlain in the aſſault on theſe forts.

The expedition did not end with this ſucceſs. Sir James Wallace, with a flying ſquadron of light frigates, and General Vaughan, with a conſiderable detachment of troops, continued, for ſeveral days, their excurſion up the river, carrying terror and deſtruction wherever they went. At the very time that General Burgoyne was receiving the moſt favourable conditions for himſelf and a ruined army, the fine village or town of Eſopus, at no very great diſtance,

1777. was reduced to aſhes, and not a houſe left ſtanding. The extraordinary devaſtation which attended every part of this expedition, of the neceſſity of which we are not judges, was productive of a pathetic but ſevere letter, from General Gates, then in the height of victory, to General Vaughan.

On the approach of Gates, the troops and veſſels retired to New York, having diſmantled the forts, and for a time at leaſt, having left the river defenceleſs. But that enterprize, though conducted with ſpirit and ability, was of little moment in the general account.

Such was the unfortunate iſſue of the northern campaign; The event of an expedition which was undertaken with the moſt confident hopes, and for ſome time purſued with very flattering appearances of ſucceſs. It was ſuppoſed the principal means for the immediate reduction of the colonies; but it has only ſerved, in conjunction with other operations, which in the firſt inſtance have ſucceeded better, to demonſtrate the difficulties attending the ſubjugation of a numerous people at a great diſtance, in an extenſive country marked with ſtrong lines, and abounding in ſtrong natural defences, if the reſources of war are not exceedingly deficient, and that the ſpirit of the people is in any degree proportioned to their ſituation. It may now, whatever it was in the beginning, be a matter of doubt, whether any ſuperiority of power, of wealth, and of diſcipline, will be found to over-ballance ſuch difficulties.

It would not be eaſy at preſent, as many things neceſſary to be known have not been fully explained, and improper, as the whole is ſtill a ſubject of public inveſtigation, to attempt forming any judgment upon the general plan or ſyſtem of this campaign. The general conduct of the war this year has already undergone much cenſure; and undoubtedly, the ſending of the grand army at ſuch a diſtance to the ſouthward, whilſt the inferior was left ſtruggling with inſurmountable difficulties in the north, when it would ſeem that their junction or co-operation, would have rendered them greatly ſuperior to any force which could have been poſſibly brought to oppoſe their progreſs, ſeems, in this view of things, not to be eaſily accounted for. It is, however, a ſubject, upon which no concluſive opinion can yet be formed.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVII.

Subſequent proceedings to General Burgoyne's ſurrender.—A few general reflections.——Reaſons given by Congreſs, why the Convention made at Saratoga ſhould not be fulfilled.——Cruelties complained of and enumerated.

FROM the unfortunate iſſue of the northern campaign, and the ſurrender of General Burgoyne, deſpondency reſpecting American affairs, was, almoſt every where apparent: the public ſeemed in a great meaſure indifferent about ſubſequent intelligence from our commanders; the colonies were looked upon as loſt, and a languor in military operations prevailed.

It muſt, however, be obſerved, that the capitulation at Saratoga, was as honourable as circumſtances would permit, and the moderation of General Gates was conſpicuous. Our army, when priſoners, were well uſed, and in due time marched to Boſton, where they are ſuppoſed ſtill to remain; tho' it is highly probable many of them will ſettle in America, and their ſervices be for ever loſt to Great Britain.

Mr. Burgoyne, and other officers, had permiſſion from Congreſs, on their parole to return to England. It is not doubted, but when an impartial enquiry ſhall take place, this active gallant commander, will be honourably acquitted.

From Lord G. Germaine's letter of inſtructions to General Carleton at Quebec, it appears, that General Burgoyne with one army, was to force his way to Albany; and colonel St. Leger with another body of forces to make a diverſion on the Mohawk river. The former was not joined by promiſed or expected aſſiſtance. The Indians had deſerted; (which marks his juſtice and clemency)—Having, then, ſuperior encreaſing numbers, well ſupplied with every neceſſary, and *Famine* to encounter, his ſurrender was juſtifiable upon every principle of prudence, humanity, and military honour: He did not this, without the advice and conſent of his officers. To have

expoſed

1778. expoſed brave veterans, without even the poſſibility of ſucceſs, had been wantonneſs, or the Quixotiſm of fortitude.

It may here be proper juſt to name the reaſons given by Congreſs for detaining the troops at Boſton, that by treaty ſhould have been ſent to England, viz. "that ſeveral military articles, included in the convention, had not been given up; that the refuſal of General Burgoyne, to give deſcriptive liſts of the non commiſſioned officers, and privates, ſubſequent to his declaration, was an infringement of the public faith, and is conſidered by Congreſs in an alarming point of view." For theſe and other reaſons, the troops were detained: and very lately, Congreſs have refuſed even to anſwer General Clinton on this ſubject, on account of the ſuppoſed inſolence of his letter.

The Indian cruelties, committed when General Burgoyne was commander, were before mentioned: but beſides theſe, we find others named in a letter, from the Plenipotentiaries of the United States at Paris, addreſſed to Lord North, reſpecting the treatment of colonel Parker, colonel Ethan Allen, who had been dragged from country to country, in chains; of Mr. Lovel in Boſton; of the priſoners made in Fort Waſhington; of numbers who had been ſent to Africa, and there groaning in bondage!

The cruelties exerciſed by the royal army.

General Gates, likewiſe complained of cruelties which had marked the retreat of Burgoyne's army, in burning gentlemen and farmer's houſes!——Such deeds, unbecoming human nature, and every idea of civilization, cannot but foment reſentment, and in the end, produce retaliation.

The burning of Eſopus by General Vaughan, not a little widened our breach with the Coloniſts, eſpecially as Charleſtown had before been laid in aſhes. In the former place there were 326 houſes, with many barns, filled with grain, all deſtroyed, with 12,000 barrels of flour!—Four pieces of cannon only, and 1150 ſtand of arms, graced the ſhining triumph of our ſucceſsful general at Eſopus!——We wiſh, for the honour of humanity, that all ſuch ſanguinary proceedings may ever ceaſe; and that in civilized nations, the extremes of war may never more be known! General Gates's letter to General Vaughan does honour to his feelings as a man. *

* Letter from Gen. Gates to the Congreſs, dated Albany October 20.

SIR,

1778.

SIR,

" Incloſed is a copy of a letter I have this day ſent to Major General Vaughan, who I am told commands the burning party in Hudſon's river: It goes by the boat that carries General Burgoyne's officer to Sir William Howe.

" SIR,

" With unexampled cruelty you have reduced the fine village of Kingſton to aſhes, and moſt of the wretched inhabitants to ruin. I am informed you alſo continue to ravage and burn all before you on both ſides of the river. Is it thus your king's generals think to make converts in the royal cauſe? It is no leſs ſurprizing than true, that the meaſures they adopt to ſerve their maſter have the quite contrary effect. Their cruelty eſtabliſhes the glorious act of independency upon the broad baſis of the general reſentment of the people.

" Able generals, and much older officers than you can pretend to be, are now, by the fortune of war, in my hands—— Their fortune may one day be your's, when, ſir, it may not be in the power of any thing human to ſave you from the juſt revenge of an injured people.

" I am, Sir, your moſt obedient,

" Humble ſervant,

" HORATIO GATES."

1778.

CHAP. XVII.

—General Howe at Philadelphia.—Reſolutions on the war. —The conciliatory bills, with the principal heads of them. —Opinion of Congreſs concerning them.—Engliſh Commiſſioners ſent to America: The powers with which they were inveſted.—Their firſt propoſitions to Congreſs. —Great conceſſions—Reply of Congreſs.—A ſtop being put to ſeveral Correſpondences recommended.—Of Governor Johnſtone.

WE HAVE haſtened from diſmal ſcenes, and the horrors of war, in order to turn our thoughts to Gen. Howe at Philadelphia; who tho' he had been ſucceſsful in ſeveral arduous conflicts, (which did honour to both the commanders and troops) yet they gained him little more than ſafe winter quarters.

The numerous hardſhips and dangers to which his men had been expoſed; the nature of the ſervice; the many reſources and retreats that lay open to the enemy, with their knowledge of the country, and facility of receiving ſupplies of every ſort,—all tended to baffle the moſt magnanimous efforts. American courage is now no longer problematical: Their alliance with France, alſo, renders it highly probable, that a moſt expenſive, ruinous war will be prolonged to the annihilation of our finances, trade, credit, and manufactures.——A conqueſt of the colonies would now ſeem to be out of moſt peoples view.

Military movements and attacks having, in a great meaſure ceaſed during the winter ſeaſon; the public attention
Feb. 17. was drawn by Lord North, who in a ſpeech of great length, propoſed, what are called "The Conciliatory Bills;" the principal heads of which reſpecting America were, firſt, the bill to enable his majeſty to name commiſſioners, for the purpoſe of quieting and extinguiſhing divers jealouſies in the Colonies, &c.——Secondly, the bill for declaring the intention of parliament, relative to the exerciſe for impoſing taxes, recites, "That the exerciſe of the right for raiſing a revenue having occaſioned great uneaſineſs and diſorders among his Majeſty's ſubjects in America, who yet

yet acknowledge the juſtice of contributing to the common defence of the empire: In order to remove ſuch uneaſineſs, and to quiet the minds of the perſons who may be diſpoſed to return to their allegiance, it is declared and enacted, that from the paſſing the act, the Parliament of Great Britain will not impoſe any duty, tax, or aſſeſſment whatſoever, payable within any of his Majeſty's colonies, provinces or plantations in North America, except only ſuch duties as it may be expedient to impoſe for the regulation of commerce. The nett produce of ſuch duties to be always paid, and applied to the uſe of the Colonies, &c. &c. in which the ſame may ariſe." 1778.

The American Congreſs having taken into conſideration the particulars in the conciliatory bills, deemed them to be inſidious, inadequate to the purpoſes propoſed; and in part, deſigned to foment diviſions and diſcontents in the Colonies. In fine, that they ſerved to ſhew in the cleareſt point of view, the weakneſs and wickedneſs of their enemy. They therefore gave it as their opinion, "That the United States could not with propriety hold any conference with commiſſioners on the part of Great Britain, unleſs they ſhould, as a preliminary thereto, either withdraw their fleets and armies, or elſe, in poſitive and expreſs terms, acknowledge the Independence of ſaid States."

Notwithſtanding the temper and reſolutions of Congreſs, miniſtry purſued their plan of reconciliation, and on the 18th of April, the Earl of Carliſle, Lord Howe, Sir William Howe, William Eden, Eſq; and George Johnſtone, Eſq; were appointed Commiſſioners for quieting and extinguiſhing of divers jealouſies and apprehenſions of danger in the Americans.

Commiſſioners appointed to treat of reconciliation.

The Commiſſioners, or any three of them, were empowered to treat, conſult, and agree with ſuch body or bodies politic and corporate, or with ſuch aſſembly or aſſemblies, as they ſhould think meet and ſufficient for that purpoſe, of, and concerning any grievances, or complaints of grievances exiſting, or ſuppoſed to exiſt, in the government of any of the Colonies, &c. &c. but then, no agreement was to be of force, till ratified by the parliament.

They had alſo a power to order a ceſſation of hoſtilities by ſea and land, for ſuch time, and under ſuch conditions, as they, in their directions ſhould think fit. Likewiſe to ſuſpend the operation of a certain act of parliament paſſed, for prohibiting all trade and intercourſe with certain colonies

1778. nies therein named, and for other purpoſes mentioned, &c. I would obſerve, previous to the negotiations that are to follow, that ſome of theſe commiſſioners were ſent, contrary to the ſenſe of the public, as being deficient in dignity, abilities, and liberality of principle, for a buſineſs of ſuch moment.

June 9. General Waſhington received a letter from General Sir Henry Clinton, informing him that the Engliſh Commiſſioners for reſtoring peace had arrived at Philadelphia, requeſting a paſſport for Dr. Ferguſon their ſecretary, with a letter from them to Congreſs.

The paſſport was not granted, till the pleaſure of Congreſs was firſt known. It was even after ſome debate, that the commiſſioners letters were received and read. When the inſidious interpoſition of the French King was heard, a motion was made to proceed no further, becauſe of the offenſive language againſt his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty!

The commiſſioners in their firſt propoſals for peace, declared, they were diſpoſed to concur in every juſt arrangement towards the following, among other purpoſes, viz. to conſent to a ceſſation of hoſtilities both by ſea and land; —to reſtore free intercourſe;—to revive mutual affection, and reſtore the common benefits of naturalization through the ſeveral parts of the empire;—to extend every freedom to trade, that reſpective intereſts can require;—to agree that no military force ſhall be kept up in the different ſtates of North America, without the conſent of the general Congreſs, or particular aſſemblies;—to concur in meaſures calculated to diſcharge the debts of America, and raiſe the value and credit of paper circulation;—to perpetuate the union, by a reciprocal deputation of an agent, or agents from the different ſtates, who ſhall have the privilege of a ſeat and voice in the parliament of Great Britain; or, if ſent from Britain, to have, in that caſe, a ſeat and voice in the aſſemblies of ſuch ſtates to which they may be reſpectively deputed. In ſhort, to eſtabliſh the powers of the reſpective legiſlatures in each particular ſtate, to ſettle its revenue, its civil and military eſtabliſhment; and to exerciſe a perfect freedom of legiſlation and internal government; ſo that the Britiſh ſtates through North America, acting with us in peace and war, under our common Sovereign, may have the irrevocable enjoyment of every privilege that is ſhort of a total ſeparation of intereſt, or con-

conſiſtent with that union of force, on which the ſafety of our common religion and liberties depends. 1778.

They concluded thus,——" If after the time that may be neceſſary to conſider of this communication, and tranſmit your anſwer, the horrors of war ſhould continue, we call God and the world to witneſs, that the evils which muſt follow, are not to be imputed to Great Britain; and we cannot, without the moſt real ſorrow, anticipate the proſpect of calamities, which we feel the moſt ardent deſire to prevent.

Theſe were, ſurely, great conceſſions from a power, which not long before, had refuſed even to receive the American petitions: They would alſo ſeem to be marked with candour and juſtice. But, alas! things had been carried to ſuch a length, or reſentments taken place, that obtaining the firſt great object of the war, would not then ſatisfy. Nothing leſs than an acknowledgment of their independency would be accepted.

After ſeveral meetings, Congreſs having reſumed the conſideration of the Commiſſioners letter and papers, they replied as follows, by Mr. Henry Lawrens, their preſident, viz." Nothing but an earneſt deſire to ſpare the farther effuſion of human blood, could have induced them to read a paper, containing ſentiments ſo diſreſpectful to his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, the great and good ally of theſe ſtates; or to conſider propoſitions ſo derogatory to the honour of an independent nation.

" The acts of the Britiſh parliament, the commiſſion from your Sovereign, and your letter ſuppoſe the people of theſe ſtates, to be ſubjects of the crown of Great Britain, and are founded on the idea of a dependence, which is utterly inadmiſſible. I am further directed to inform your Excellencies, that Congreſs is inclined to peace, notwithſtanding the unjuſt claims from which this war originated, and the ſavage manner in which it hath been conducted: They will therefore be contented to enter upon the conſideration of a treaty of peace and commerce, not inconſiſtent with treaties already ſubſiſting; when the King of Great Britain ſhall demonſtrate a ſincere diſpoſition for that purpoſe. The only ſolid proof of this diſpoſition, will be an explicit acknowledgment of the independence of theſe ſtates, or the withdrawing his fleets and armies."

After this, Congreſs announced to the public, that many letters addreſſed to individuals of the United States, had lately

1778. lately been received from England, thro' the conveyance of the enemy; that ſome of them which had been under their inſpection, were found to convey ideas, inſidiouſly calculated, to divide and delude the people. They then recommended the moſt effectual meaſures for putting a ſtop to ſo dangerous and criminal a correſpondence *.

The vigilance of Congreſs reſpecting private correſpondence was proper and laudable. Several of thoſe that were ſent by Governor Johnſtone, do honour to his feelings and underſtanding: His addreſs and public ſpirit were evinced by them. He even admitted, certain political tranſgreſſions of the mother country, and freely mentioned, "her hour of inſolence!"——We ſhall hereafter ſee his ſuppoſed defection from the line of rectitude in ſome of his addreſſes; by which he loſt the confidence of Congreſs and his proceedings as a commiſſioner were rendered of none effect.

But in order to connect events properly, and to have a full view of the ſubject; let us turn to the negociations that had been going on between France and the Congreſs.

* It appeared by a private letter, that through the means of the commander in chief, and a Mr Galloway, Governor Johnſtone had circulated ſeveral private introductory letters to American gentlemen in power: One to Mr. Morris, a leading member of the Congreſs; one to Mr. Johnſon, Governor of Maryland; one to Mr. Carmichael, late Secretary to the Commiſſioners at Paris; beſides that addreſſed to General Waſhington himſelf.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

American Independence acknowledged by France.—Meſſage from his Majeſty to parliament.—Obſervations.——Treaty of alliance ſigned at Paris.—Letters of reprizal granted by France and England.—Reception of the Sieur Gerrard in America.—The unmoleſted departure of the Count D'Eſtaing from Toulon.

DR. FRANKLIN'S and Mr. Dean's proceedings in Paris, had been long obſerved, and watched with a jealous eye: treaties were ſuppoſed to have been ſigned, and an alliance formed, ſome months before they were aſcertained to the public.

The French ambaſſador delivered a reſcript to lord Weymouth ſecretary of ſtate, the principal parts of which are, viz. That the United States of North America, being in full poſſeſſion of independence, as pronounced by them, on the 4th of July, 1776, having propoſed to the King, to conſolidate by a formal convention, the connection begun to be eſtabliſhed between the two nations; the reſpective plenipotentiaries have ſigned a treaty of friendſhip and commerce, deſigned to ſerve as a foundation for their mutual good correſpondence. March.

His Majeſty, determined to cultivate the good underſtanding ſubſiſting between France and Great Britain, thinks it neceſſary to make this proceeding known to the court of London, and to declare at the ſame time, that the contracting parties have paid great attention, not to ſtipulate any excluſive advantages in favour of the French nation; and that the United States have reſerved the liberty, of treating with every nation whatever, upon the ſame footing of equality and reciprocity.

In making this communication to the court of London, the King is firmly perſuaded, ſhe will find new proofs of his Majeſty's conſtant and ſincere diſpoſition for peace; and that his Britannic Majeſty, animated by the ſame ſentiments, will equally avoid every thing that may alter their good harmony; and that he will particularly take effectual meaſures, to prevent the commerce between his Majeſty's ſub-

1778. jects, and the United States of North America from being interrupted, and to cauſe all the uſages received between commercial nations, to be, in this reſpect, obſerved; and all thoſe rules which can be ſaid to ſubſiſt between the two crowns of France and Great Britain.

In this juſt confidence the underſigned ambaſſador (Le M. de Noailles) thinks it ſuperfluous to acquaint the Britiſh Miniſter, that the King his maſter being determined, to protect effectually the lawful commerce of his ſubjects, and to maintain the dignity of his flag, his Majeſty has in conſequence, taken eventual meaſures in concert with the United States of North America.

In conſequence of this declaration, lord Weymouth delivered to the houſe of lords a meſſage from his Majeſty, informing them, that a treaty of amity and commerce has been ſigned between the court of France, and certain perſons employed by his Majeſty's revolted ſubjects in North America; a copy of which was ordered to be laid before the houſe.

That his Majeſty is perſuaded, the juſtice and good faith of his conduct towards foreign powers, will be acknowledged by all the world; and his Majeſty truſts, that he ſhall not ſtand reſponſible for the diſturbance of the general tranquility, if he ſhould find himſelf called upon, to reſent ſo unprovoked and ſo unjuſt an aggreſſion on the honour of his crown, &c. contrary to the moſt ſolemn aſſurances, ſubverſive of the law of nations, and injurious to the rights of every ſovereign power in Europe.

That relying with the firmeſt confidence, on the zealous and affectionate ſupport of his faithful people, he is determined to be prepared to exert, if it ſhall become neceſſary, all the force and reſources of his kingdoms, which he truſts will be found adequate, to repel every inſult and attack, to maintain and uphold the power and reputation of this country.

The anſwer from both houſes of parliament to this meſſage, was marked by zeal and affection, by a juſt reſentment, and the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of loyalty and ſupport.

Tho' the reſcript of the French King was not given to lord Weymouth, as ſecretary of ſtate till March 1778; yet it was known, ſome months before, that an acknowledgment of American Independence, was determined on by the court of France, and that a treaty of amity and of commerce had been ſigned; nay it was affirmed, that a private

private treaty had been agreed upon, containing the moſt hoſtile deſigns againſt Great Britain. It is highly probable, as the humbling conceſſions that were made on our part, had no impreſſion on Congreſs, that France and America will act with their united force againſt us. It is a principal part of the policy of the former, to weaken her rival Great Britain, by increaſing her national debt and expences, or by leſſening her ſtrength and commerce. In ſuch a ſituation, wiſdom, vigilance, and activity ſhould diſtinguiſh adminiſtration; a virtuous unanimity, and a fixed regard to their ſafety and liberties ſhould mark the proceedings of the people. 1778.

The treaty of alliance between France and the United States, was ſigned at Paris; and ſoon after Congreſs unanimouſly ratified it. By this treaty all that we enjoyed by the famous act of navigation, was loſt. Feb. 6.

For ſeveral reaſons, a declaration of war has been delayed, tho' hoſtitities have long ſince been commenced. On the 10th July, the French King's letter to the admiral of France, authorizing and empowering him to iſſue letters of reprizal againſt the ſhips of the ſubjects of Great Britain, was publiſhed:—On the 29th of the ſame month, his Majeſty with the advice of the privy council ordered, that general reprizals be granted againſt the ſhips, goods, and ſubjects of the French King, &c.

Our ſucceſs in ſeizing French property has been very great, both by our privateers, and ſhips of war. Their Eaſt India and their Weſt India fleets have greatly ſuffered: The balance in this ſort of buſineſs, (which tends to the ruin of private individuals) is vaſtly in our favour; bankruptcies and diſcontents pervade the Gallic commercial walks. A great deal of French property, was undoubtedly inſured in England; but it is hoped, a practiſe ſo impolitic has ceaſed.

It were almoſt unneceſſary to inform the public, of the reception which the Sieur Gerrard, ſent from France, to Congreſs, met with. Their ſpeeches to a man, who came from a court, whoſe religion and government are both inimical to theirs, are flattering in an high degree, or rather, mean and fulſome. The popularity of Congreſs, is not increaſed by this alliance. If concurring accounts may be depended upon, loyalty, in ſeveral of the Colonies, to thoſe in power, ſits but looſe upon the people. It will, perhaps, be next to impoſſible, altogether to eradicate their feelings for their former friends, and mother country. Would I

1778. could ſay, that the conduct of our miniſters, had not given them cauſe of alienation; but a wanton, avaricious war, waged with reſentment and inſtances of cruelty, will be difficult to have terminated, with honour and advantage.

April. The Count de Eſtaing, an enterprizing officer, (but who had formerly broke his parole with us) ſailed with 15 men of war and frigates from Toulon for America, in order, as was ſuppoſed, to deſtroy the fleet under lord Howe, ſeize our merchantmen, and to aſſiſt the operations of the Continental army, againſt that under general Howe, or Sir Henry Clinton. The proceedings of this fleet will, in their place be given. The ſailing of it, unmoleſted from Europe, tho' intelligence was ſaid to have been early enough received for preventing it, occaſioned much diſcontent, and the minority in parliament reprobated miniſtry for their neglect in this matter. Nay, it was aſſerted, that the ſhips which ſhould have gone on this important buſineſs, were detained at home, in order to parade in the royal review at Portſmouth.

The foregoing intereſting tranſactions, were thrown into one connected view, that the reader may, with the more eaſe, have recourſe to matters, on which the moſt important events may depend. The way being thus cleared, let us next proceed to Philadelphia, where, in December 1777, we left Sir William Howe in winter quarters.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

Forage brought in. Languor in military operations. General Howe's intention of returning to England; reaſons ſurmiſed. Part of the enemy's troops defeated. Succeſs of an Expedition up the Delaware. Boats burned on Hickamanent river. General Clinton commander in chief at Philadelphia. Evacuates that city; paſſes the Delaware; His celebrated march thro' Jerſey, and repulſe of General Waſhington. Colonel Monckton ſlain. Of general Lee.

FOR ſeveral weeks nothing material happened; but on the 22d. of December, a conſiderable body of the army paſſed the Schuylkill, to take poſt on the heights of Derby, in order to cover the collecting and tranſporting by water, as well as by land a large quantity of forage which that county afforded: a great deal was brought in, and the detachment returned on the 28th of December, with the loſs of two officers and thirty men, who had been decoyed into an ambuſcade.

The continental army, excepting a detachment of 1200 at Wilmington, were hutted in the woods near Valley forge, twenty ſix miles from Philadelphia, in a ſtrong poſition.

After the defeat of Saratoga, inactivity in military affairs, would ſeem to have taken place, and the eagerneſs of expectation in the public, was not to be ſeen as formerly. General Sir William Howe intimated the arrival of Sir May. Henry Clinton at Philadelphia, with his intention of returning home, after he had furniſhed his ſucceſſor with the orders and inſtructions he had received. Neglect in adminiſtration, a diſlike to the ſecretary for American affairs, and not having been properly attended to, and ſupported, are ſuppoſed to have been the reaſons of Sir William's deſiring permiſſion to reſign the command: But probably the cauſes of this, as well as of other reſignations, will more fully be known by parliamentary enquiries that are ſoon to take place.

1778. From the earlieſt return of ſpring, a ſucceſſion of detachments had ranged the country for ſeveral miles round Philadelphia, and the province of Jerſey, to open a communication for bringing in ſupplies for the inhabitants, and to procure forage for the army. Theſe detachments did conſiderable ſervice; and Colonel Mawhood with three battalions, and a provincial corps, made a deſcent on the coaſt of Jerſey, near Salem, with much ſucceſs, and diſperſed the forces collected in that part of the country.

May 4th. By the activity of lieutenant Colonel Abercromby, a corps of 900 men under the command of a brigadier General, poſted about ſeventeen miles from our head quarters, 100 light infantry, 300 rangers, and a party of light dragoons, were attacked and defeated: In killed, wounded and priſoners the enemy loſt 150 men: and we had but nine wounded in the action. The rout would have been far more complete, had not the fatigue of a long march diſabled the infantry from purſuing.

May 7th. The good conduct of major Maitland who was detached with the ſecond battalion of light infantry in flat boats, attended with three gallies and other armed veſſels, under the command of Captain Henry, deſerves particular notice. his orders were to proceed up the Delaware, to deſtroy all the ſhips, and veſſels lying in the river between that and Trenton.

The provincials appeared in force, but were driven from their guns, after which, four ſtore houſes, with great quantities of proviſions, a very large quantity of tobacco, ſome military ſtores and camp equipage were deſtroyed.

Our Admiral Lord Howe recites the judicious conduct of Captain Henry in the execution of the orders he had re-

May 6th. ceived. The Huſſar, Cornwallis, Tenet and Philadelphia gallies, with the Viper, and Pembroke armed ſchooners &c. proceeded up the Delaware, till they were abreaſt of White Hill, where the gallies covered the landing of the troops. At this place the Waſhington and Effingham frigates, the former pierced for 32 guns, and the latter for 28 guns, were with a brig and ſloop, ſet on fire, and conſumed.

The troops then marched, and took poſſeſſion of Burdentown, where they deſtroyed a battery of 3 ſix pounders; burnt two new ſhips, one privateer, with ten ſail of brigs

and

and ſchooners. They next proceeded up Croſwell Creek; 1778.
and ſet fire to the Sturdy-beggar privateer, and eight ſail of ſloops and brigs.

The Huſſar and Front gallies, gun-boats, &c. rode up alſo Biles Iſland Creek; where they deſtroyed ſix different veſſels, moſtly armed. At Briſtol were burnt likewiſe ſeveral veſſels, the whole amounting to forty four ſail. There was not a man loſt in this expedition; but ſome houſes were unfortunately conſumed by fire, contrary to the directions of the officers employed in this ſervice.

A detachment of the garriſon of Rhode Iſland, under the command of Colonel Campbell of the 22d. Regiment, May 25.
embarked in flat boats, conducted by Captain Clayton; and by a well concerted operation deſtroyed 125 boats collected by the Provincials in Hickamanent river, with a large galley, all deſigned to aſſiſt at the invaſion of Rhode Iſland. Another galley of force was deſtroyed by Captain Reeve, at Warren's Creek. The ſaw-mills alſo near Taunton River, were deſtroyed by Lieutenant Chriſtian, which was a ſervice of importance.

During the ſummer there was a remarkable ſilence in adminiſtration, reſpecting American affairs, and the movement of our fleet and army. Tho' we had ſeveral ſucceſſes, and did much damage to the enemy; yet nothing either brilliant or deciſive was effected. Perhaps the ſituation of our troops, the nature of the country, the difficulties and dangers that attended ſo ſevere, and unuſual a ſervice prevented it. The fortitude and conduct of our commanders, the alertneſs and bravery of the ſoldiery, are not to be called in queſtion. Whether the ſupport and inſtructions they received from miniſtry were inadequate to the arduous work they were engaged in, I ſhall not determine: The public will, no doubt be in due time ſatisfied in this matter.

Tho' our troops were in poſſeſſion of Philadelphia, ſo early as the 10th of May, a report prevailed, that it would ſoon be evacuated; and on the 30th an order was iſſued for the veſſels to leave the town on the ſecond of June. The 5th our peace Commiſſioners arrived in the Trident, and on the 16th ſent a flag of truce to Congreſs.

General Clinton being chief in command at Philadelphia, evacuated that city on the 18th of June, at three o'clock in the morning, and proceeded to Gloceſter point without being followed by the enemy. The army, through the ex-

1778. cellent diſpoſition that had been made by the admiral, (Lord Howe) paſſed the Delaware, and at ten o'clock reached Hadden field. A ſtrong corps of provincial forces, abandoned the difficult paſs of Mount Hally, but they deſtroyed every bridge on the road. The exceſſive heat of the ſeaſon rendered the repairing of theſe bridges, a work of much difficulty.

As this celebrated march, may be placed among the moſt diſtinguiſhed events of the war, a circumſtantial account of it, muſt prove acceptable to the public.

The advanced parties of our light troops arriving unexpectedly at Croſſwicks on the 23d after a trifling ſkirmiſh, prevented the enemy from deſtroying a bridge over a large creek in that village; the army paſſed it next morning.

The march ſo far, pointed equally towards the Hudſon's river, and Staten Iſland by the Rariton, but the juncture was arrived, when it became neceſſary to decide, ultimately, what courſe to purſue. Encumbered by an enormous proviſion train, the general was led to wiſh for a route the leaſt liable to obſtruction.

He had received intelligence that Generals Waſhington and Lee had paſſed the Delaware with their army; that a numerous militia was aſſembled from all the neighbouring provinces; and that General Gates with an army from the northward, was advancing to join them on the Rariton. From General Waſhington's having ſo frequently avoided coming to action, it was not then expected he would have given into it againſt every dictate of policy. This was our General's opinion, who believed his views would only be directed againſt the baggage, proviſions, &c. in which parts, he was undoubtedly vulnerable.

The approach of the continental army, having been indicated by the frequent appearance of their light troops on the rear of ours, General Knyphauſen was requeſted, to take the baggage of the whole army under charge of his diviſion. Under the head of baggage was comprized, not only all the wheel carriages of every department, but alſo the bat horſes; a train which as the country admitted but of one route for carriages, extended near twelve miles!

The indiſpenſable neceſſity of ſecuring theſe, was obvious; the difficulties in effecting this, againſt an army vaſtly ſuperior, and in a woody country, were alſo apparent.

Ge-

General Knyphauſen was deſired to move on the 28th at day break. Soon after, General Clinton followed with his diviſion. Reconnoitering parties of the enemy quickly appeared on their left flank. The queen's rangers fell in with, and diſperſed ſome detachments among the woods in the ſame quarter. 1778.

Our rear guards having deſcended from the heights above Freehold into a plain near three miles in length, and about one mile in breadth, ſeveral columns of the enemy appeared likewiſe deſcending into the plain; and at ten o'clock they began to cannonade our rear. General Clinton then was informed, that the provincial troops, were, undiſcovered, marching in force on both flanks of his army. He was convinced the baggage was their object, but it being at that juncture engaged in defiles, which continued for ſome miles, no means occurred of parrying the blow, but attacking the corps which harraſſed the rear, and preſſing it ſo hard as to oblige the detachments to return from his flanks to its aſſiſtance.

He had authentic information, that General Waſhington was up with his whole army, eſtimated at about two thouſand men. The enemy's cavalry commanded, as was ſaid, by M. de la Fayette, having approached within reach, was charged with great ſpirit by the Queen's light dragoons: They did not wait the ſhock, but fell back in confuſion upon their own infantry.

General Clinton thinking it poſſible, that the event might draw to a general action, ſent for a brigade of Britiſh, and the 17th light dragoons. A diſpoſition was made to attack in the plain; but before our troops could advance, the enemy fell back, and took a ſtrong poſition upon the heights of Freehold court houſe. The heat of the weather was intenſe, and the men ſuffered much from the fatigues they had undergone, but a vigorous exertion was neceſſary.

The Britiſh grenadiers, and the guards on their right, began the attack with ſuch ſpirit, that the enemy immediately gave way. But their ſecond line ſtood with obſtinacy; they were, however completely routed. They then took a third poſition, with a marſhy hollow in front, over which it would have been ſcarcely poſſible to have attacked them; yet part of the ſecond line made a movement to the front, occupied ſome ground on the enemy's left flank, and the

1778. the light infantry with the Queen's light dragoons turned their left.

By this time our troops were ſo overpowered with fatigue, that the affair could be preſſed no farther, eſpecially as general Clinton was confident, that the end was gained for which the attack had been made. He took the poſition from where the enemy had been driven, after they quitted the plain, and having repoſed the troops, to avoid the heat of the day, took advantage of the moon light to rejoin general Knyphauſen, who advanced to Nut Swamp near Middletown.

The baggage had been attempted by ſome of the enemy's light troops, who were repulſed by the good diſpoſition of the laſt named general, Major Grant, and the firm ſtand of the 40th regiment, whoſe piquets alone were attacked, and one troop of the 17th light dragoons.

It would be ſufficient honour to our troops, barely to ſay, that they had forced a corps of near 12000 men, from two ſtrong poſitions; but it muſt be conſidered as highly honourable, when it is affirmed, that they did it under ſuch diſadvantages of heat and fatigue, that a great part of thoſe who were loſt, fell dead as they advanced, without a wound! The ſervice here was peculiarly ſevere, or rather above human ſtrength, but Britiſh courage is almoſt equal to every difficulty.

Had General Waſhington ſhewn himſelf next day, our army was ready to receive him handſomely. Our General waited two days in hopes that Mr. Waſhington might have been tempted to advance to the poſition near Middletown, where he might have been attacked to advantage. During this time the ſick and wounded were embarked, and preparation made for paſſing to Sandy hook Iſland by a bridge, which by extraordinary efforts of the navy was ſoon compleated: The whole army paſſed over in two hours, the horſes and cattle having been previouſly tranſported.

In the action fell lieutenant colonel Monckton, whoſe courage, conduct, and military accompliſhments are univerſally acknowledged. In him the gentleman and ſoldier, were happily united; tenderneſs and humanity, were the attendants of eminent abilities and diſtinguiſhed magnanimity.

It is obſervable, that in 1769 he purchaſed a majority from Mr. Gates, whoſe name has been ſince rendered famous

mous by his victory at Saratoga. It is alſo noticeable, that in 1776, Col. Monckton was ſhot through the body at Long Iſland, and afterwards wounded in the knee. But on the 28th of June, he glorioufly fell leading on his battalion. 1778.

Tho' General Waſhington claimed the victory on the 28th of June, and in his letter ſaid, the enemy were finally obliged to give way, &c. yet it is plain, our baggage and proviſions were ſaved, and a march performed, which will ever do honour to General Clinton, as well as to the officers and ſoldiers under his command.

General Lee's conduct had been blamed on this occaſion, and tho' it received not public reprehenſion, yet ſome were diſſatisfied with it. His bravery, however, ſtands unimpeached. In his letter reſpecting the above attack, inſtead of naming it as a victory, he ſpeaks of it only as a very handſome check; yet General Waſhington received the thanks of Congreſs for a ſuppoſed victory, tho' the greateſt deſign of his attack, was intirely fruſtrated.

CHAP.

CHAP. XX.

De Eſtaing's fleet anchor at the entrance of the Delaware; intercept ſome veſſels, and ſail to the ſouthward. Privateers, and a great number of ſhips deſtroyed by Admiral Young. Expedition near Hickamuct bridge. Rhode Iſland inveſted: The enemy repulſed. Efforts uſed in repairing Admiral Byron's fleet, and ſtrengthening Lord Howe. Expedition to Bedford and Fair Haven. And to Egg harbour. Dominica taken. Reflections. The Iſlands of St. Pierre and Miquilon are ſurrendered.

THE ſailing of the French fleet, under the command of the Count de Eſtaing was before mentioned. Our admiral, lord Howe, received intelligence, that his fleet had arrived on the coaſt of Virginia, the 5th July; but on the 8th, they anchored at the entrance of the Delaware: Inſtructions were immediately ſent to admiral Byron by his lordſhip; who ſoon afterwards had notice, that the French ſquadron was advancing towards Sandy Hook, where he then was ſtationed.

The poſition they had taken near this port, enabled them to intercept ten ſmall trading veſſels, with the York armed ſloops, and one of our bomb tenders. But on the 22d July, the enemy weighed, and ſtood from before Sandy Hook to the Southward, followed by advice boats. On the 28th the Raiſonnable, man of war joined lord Howe's ſmall fleet, as did the Centurion and Cornwall, in three days after: The latter had parted from admiral Byron in a ſudden guſt of wind, whoſe ſhips were ſuppoſed to have ſuffered damage.

From admiral Young's letter dated the 12th Sept. from Spithead, it appears, that when on his ſtation, at Leeward Iſlands, he had deſtroyed ſeventeen privateers and armed veſſels, with 205 American trading ſhips, beſides thoſe that were publiſhed in the Gazette the 11th July.

May 27. General Sullivan arrived at Providence, in order to command the Provincial forces in that place, as well as to be near Rhode Iſland, when a convenient opportunity ſhould offer for making an attempt upon it.

General

General Pigot having received intelligence, that a great number of large boats, and a galley were on ſhore at the weſt ſide of the river below Hickamuct bridge, all under repair, with a number of cannon and ſtores, with only a guard of ten men upon the boats, and 250, on the whole Peninſula, from Warren to Briſtol ferry, and that aſſiſtance could not come in time to ſave the boats; Lieutenant Col. Campbell of the 22d regiment, was ordered for the command, with about 500 men, and embarked on board flat boats under the direction of Captain Clayton and Lieut. Knowles of the navy. 1778.

This expedition was crowned with ſucceſs; 125 boats, ſome of them 50 feet in length, were burned. A galley, ſeveral pieces of cannon, and ſome ſloops were deſtroyed. In the town of Warren, an houſe, full of ammunition, combuſtibles and other warlike ſtores, was blown up; and a new privateer mounting 16 four pounders was burnt in Warren river.

The troops in their way to Briſtol ſpiked ſeveral pieces of cannon, tho' their rear was fired upon by the enemy who had taken the alarm. The loſs attending this eſſential ſervice, was inconſiderable.

A few days after this expedition, General Pigot having been informed, that a large quantity of boards and planks lay at Trall river, and that the only ſaw mills the enemy had in that country were alſo there; he ordered Major Eyre with 100 men on this ſervice. Two mills, with a large quantity of boards and planks were deſtroyed, tho' they were early diſcovered, and fired upon from a battery, and ſmall arms. In returning to their boats, they burned a guard room, proviſion ſtore, and nine cedar boats. Our loſs was but two men killed, and Lieut. Goldſmith, and four men wounded.

About the middle of July, General Waſhington conſiderably reinforced General Sullivan's army, which left no room to doubt that an attack on Rhode Iſland was intended. The iſland, however, had been reinforced with Major General Preſcot, and five battalions; and Major General Pigot, with the aſſiſtance he received from the navy, had time to ſtrengthen the ſea defences.

The French fleet under de Eſtaing appeared off Newport, but ſhewed no diſpoſition to enter the harbour; but it was ſuppoſed they were waiting to aſſiſt the attack that ſhould be made on the iſland by General Sullivan. Every effort was uſed to receive them properly. July 29.

The

1778. The enemy landed their forces at Howland's ferry. Their military operations were actively continued for ſeveral days. Several redoubts were raiſed, and attacks made, but by the bravery of our troops, an army of Provincials ſup-
Aug. 9. poſed to be 12000 men, could make no impreſſion. The weight of the principal action fell on Col. Campbell of the 22d regiment. Brigadier General Smith, likewiſe mentions with applauſe the ſpirited exertions of Lieut. Col. Marſh, and the 43d regiment; as alſo of Captains Coore and French who commanded the flank companies.

Aug. 8. But before theſe attacks, the French fleet under Monſieur de Eſtaing, under a light ſail entered the harbour, keeping up a warm fire on Brenton's point, Goat Iſland, and the North batteries, which were manned by ſeamen of our frigates that had been deſtroyed, and commanded by Capt. Chriſtian, Lieutenants Forreſt and Otway of the navy, who returned the fire with great ſpirit, and in good direction.

The next morning, Count de Eſtaing repaſſed the batteries; (having as was ſuppoſed heard that Lord Howe's little fleet was near at hand.) The fire from both ſides was continued briſkly, as before. But the deſertion of his ſtation, not a little diſappointed the hopes, and damped the ardour of the provincial army, as well as raiſed their reſentment. Their operations againſt the garriſon at Newport were in a ſhort time diſcontinued; and the departure of the French ſquadron, was ſoon followed by an entire evacuation of the Iſland.

Though Lord Howe had endeavoured, (after his having
Aug. 11. been reinforced) to prevent de Eſtaing from getting to Boſton, yet he arrived unmoleſted into that harbour. A ſtorm had prevented the Engliſh and French fleets from engaging; but the Iſis man of war, gained great honour by gallantly withſtanding the force of a French ſhip, called the Cæſar of 74 guns, which after a warm conteſt, nobly ſupported by Captain Raynor, was obliged to ſheer off: The Iſis, in all probability, would have taken the Cæſar, had the conteſt been continued, but ſhe was ſo diſabled in her maſts and rigging, as prevented a purſuit.

Thus it appears, that this great armament under de Eſtaing, performed not thoſe great things that were expected from it. He indeed made prizes of ſeveral of our ſhips; and at Rhode Iſland, we were under the neceſſity of deſtroying five frigates, and two armed gallies to prevent their getting into the hands of the enemy. But by Lord Howe's ſkilful diſpoſition

diſpoſition at New York, the French fleet could make no impreſſion; and at Philadelphia, our victualling fleet, a vaſt quantity of ſtores, and many merchantmen, fortunately eſcaped the Gallic ſquadron. Its great deſign, therefore, ſeems in ſome ſort, to have been happily fruſtrated, and it is believed, that de Eſtaing not having adequately ſupported the attack at Rhode Iſland, has, at leaſt, ſown the ſeeds of jealouſy and reſentment in the Coloniſts. 1778.

Notwithſtanding the violent ſtorm which Admiral Byron met with in his paſſage from Plymouth Sound, on the 3d of July, every effort was quickly uſed to repair the damage he ſuſtained; and from his own account it appears, that had the French ſquadron, which at the time was not far diſtant, attacked him, he was not without hope of ſucceſs. The activity uſed in reinforcing Admiral Lord Howe's fleet, with thoſe that had ſuffered in the ſtorm, merits to be honourably mentioned.

In September, Major General Grey, performed very conſiderable ſervice at Bedford and Fair Haven, by deſtroying ſeveral valuable ſtores, with 70 ſhips and privateers, almoſt ready for ſailing. The battery of cannon on Fair Haven ſide, conſiſting of eleven pieces, were demoliſhed by Captain Scott, commanding officer of the artillery, and the magazine blown up.

A requiſition was made of the arms of the militia,—300 oxen, and 10,000 ſheep, which was complied with.—— The loſs of men in this expedition was inconſiderable.

The very gallant behaviour of Captain Ranier of the Oſtrich ſloop, in his engagement with the Polly, an American privateer, vaſtly ſuperior to him in force, merits much praiſe. The Captain of the American was killed; and Mr. Ranier was ſhot through the left breaſt. During this deſperate conteſt, the Loweſtoffe's prize fortunately came to the aſſiſtance of Captain Ranier, and gave him the victory.

Admiral Montague, having received his Majeſty's commands, to take poſſeſſion of the Iſlands of St. Pierre's and Miquelon, ſent Commodore Evans, in September, to reduce them. He had under his command, the Romney, man of war, the Pallas, Surprize, Martin, and Bonavita armed ſloop, with two field pieces, a party of Artillery, and 200 Marines, under Major Wemys.

As there are not adequate forces on theſe Iſlands to defend them, the Governor, Baron de l'Eſperance ſurrendered upon honourable terms. The inhabitants were to be

ſent

1778. ſent to France. The fiſhing ſtages were deſtroyed, as alſo the dwelling houſes, ſtore houſes, ſeveral ſhallops, 165 canoes, and a great deal of fiſh, with 201 hogſheads of oil, and 244 hogſheads of ſalt. Beſides theſe, 173 Muſquets, 173 Bayonets, 172 Cartouch-boxes, 18 Swords, and 106 Belts were given up. Tho' theſe bare Iſlands are but of little ſignificance to Great Britain, yet they were of very conſiderable importance to France, and the loſs of them, muſt not a little affect her Newfoundland fiſhery.

In October, Sir Henry Clinton had moved into Jerſey, partly to favour an expedition ſent to Egg harbour: It was in ſeveral reſpects ſucceſsful. The ſhips and detachment under ſome difficulty and oppoſition arrived there the 5th October, under the command of Captains Collins and Ferguſon.

Three ſalt works, and ſeveral ſtores were deſtroyed. The Raleigh, a fine American frigate was taken, and brought to New York. They were informed by deſerters, that Mr. Polaſki, an active and cruel enemy had cantoned his corps, conſiſting of three companies of foot, three troops of horſe, a detachment of artillery, and a braſs field piece, within a mile of a bridge, which appeared eaſy to ſeize. Accordingly 250 men were embarked, and after rowing ten miles landed at four o'clock in the morning, within a mile of the defile, which was ſecured. They then puſhed forward upon the Infantry of Polaſki's Legion, cantoned in three different houſes: They were almoſt entirely put to the ſword. Among them, were a Lieutenant Colonel, a Captain, and an Adjutant. The enemy endeavoured to harraſs our men in their retreat; but with ſo much caution and modeſty, as to do them little miſchief. It ſeems, that Polaſki, had given orders, that no quarter ſhould be given to our troops. In this expedition ten veſſels were deſtroyed, and a number of what is called craft; a large brig, likewiſe, laden with lumber was taken. This place having been a neſt for privateers, the attacking of it was of conſiderable ſervice, and ſaved many of our trading ſhips from being ſeized.

Sept. 7. The garriſon of Dominica were alarmed by the appearance of ſeveral French ſhips of force coming round the port. They then diſcovered four frigates, ten armed ſloops and ſchooners, with about twenty tranſports. They went aſhore at Point Michael in great numbers. The landing was at leaſt 2000 men in three diviſions. The frigates afterwards

wards approached in different directions to cannonade Young's battery, and the town. 1778.

As the oppoſition, from the ſmall force we had on that important iſland, had proved ineffectual, and if continued, muſt have deſtroyed men wantonly; Mr. Stewart, the governor, having been requeſted by the principal perſons in Dominica to call a council of war, in ſo critical a ſituation, immediately complied.

It was ſoon reſolved to ſend a flag of truce to the enemy, to know what terms would be granted. A parley for an hour was conſented to by the Marquis de Bouille, who commanded the French troops, and was governor of Martinico. The articles of capitulation were, in every reſpect, moſt honourable; and the moderation of the French commander merits praiſe; but ſtill French perfidy appeared, for during the parley, a French Frigate called the Tourterelle fired two broadſides on Young's battery, and the town, which nearly broke off the negociation for a ſurrender. Our troops, &c. were embarked for Granada, and the inhabitants retained their former privileges.—That miniſtry have been reprobated, for having left a place of ſuch moment in an expoſed ſituation, is not to be wondered at.

Having carried our military and naval operations ſo far, without interruption, before we turn back to other proceedings, it may with propriety be obſerved, that tho' by ſo many attacks and efforts, we muſt have greatly injured the Coloniſts; yet we never have been able to make any effectual impreſſion, or to advance into the country. Perhaps the nature of it, or its many reſources, the extended theatre of the war, the inadequate number of troops employed in ſo arduous and ſevere a ſervice, not to mention the magnanimity and ſpirit of the Coloniſts, prevented our effecting any thing deciſive.

The operations of war there, differ from thoſe in almoſt every other place: nor do I believe that greater bravery can be expected, than has appeared in the forces that have been ſent thither. The Americans continue to reject every offer, unleſs accompanied by independency. Fabius like, their determined General prolongs the war to our unſpeakable loſs and diſappointment. The noble perſeverance of the Coloniſts, their fortitude under accumulated ſufferings, their contempt of danger, and of death itſelf, when ſet in competition with the freedom and proſperity of

1778. their country, ſtrongly marks their love of liberty, and ſhews, that they deſerve to be free.

We appear to have been ſtrangers to their genius, ſtrength and reſources; but our want of wiſdom was early apparent, in not having at firſt ſent a ſufficient force, along with equitable, liberal propoſals, in order to have preſerved both their allegiance and affection.

The ſort of defeats they have ſuſtained, ſerve only to weaken us, and to teach them military knowledge.

Since the unhappy conteſt commenced, tho' their ſmall ſhips, privateers, ſtores, proviſions, &c. have been deſtroyed in great numbers and quantities; yet from an accurate calculation, upon the whole, we have loſt nineteen ſhips of war, great and ſmall; the French and Americans only eleven.

By perſeverance, the great object of the war is in their offer; they may now have their grievances redreſſed; but as independency is their aim, nothing leſs will procure for us the Olive Branch.

Tho' no doubt their alliance with France, hath fixed them in this reſolution, yet the connection is highly unnatural between powers, whoſe religion and government are ſo diametrically oppoſite. That this alliance, has not a little looſened the loyalty of many of the Coloniſts to Congreſs is not to be controverted; and however we may admire American magnanimity, yet as they are now joined with the natural enemies of theſe nations, and probably every miſchief intended us, ſound policy will prompt us to take care of ourſelves.

To withdraw our forces from America, would, in effect be, to acknowledge their independence. Nova Scotia might then be attacked, Newfoundland invaded, Florida over-run, and even Canada become ſubject to the Congreſs. Nay, the Weſt India trade would be expoſed to perpetual interruptions, and our iſlands to invaſions.

Theſe conſiderations, in ſome ſort, lay a foundation for ſupporting the preſent conteſt, till it ſhall be brought to a deſireable iſſue. But while this is ſuggeſted, it is hoped that a change of men and meaſures will take place. The preſent ſet of miniſters ſeem not to be qualified (if we may judge of paſt proceedings) for ſo arduous an undertaking; nor is it probable, that the Coloniſts will ever give them their confidence.

At

At preſent, they would not ſeem to ſtand well with our beſt officers, admirals, and commanders. General Sir William Howe's reaſons to the houſe of commons for having quitted his high ſtation in America, are remarkable, and ſpeak intereſting language; viz. that he had not been treated with confidence by Lord G. G——ne, whom he charged with neglect of duty, in not co-operating in the plans he had formed, nor ſupplying him with the reinforcements he demanded; neither paying that attention to the requiſitions which he made in favour of deſerving officers, which the dignity of his ſtation, and the nature of the ſervice demanded. He concluded by ſaying, that the American war would never be carried on with effect, while that noble lord had the direction of it. 1778.

Is the nation thus to be abuſed by venality, or ignorance, after the vaſt expence of blood and treaſure we have been at? Wiſdom and diſintereſtedneſs in government, ought alone to ſecure the ſupport and allegiance of the people.

CHAP. XXI.

Governor Johnſtone's correſpondence with certain Members of the Congreſs.—Reſolutions of Congreſs.—The declaration and appeal of our Commiſſioners.—Engliſh and French naval preparations.—Two French frigates taken.—Sea fight near Breſt, between Admiral Keppel and Count D'Orvilliers. French account of it.——Obſervations.

SEVERAL of the proceedings of the Commiſſioners ſent to the American Congreſs, have already been mentioned, particularly thoſe of Governor Johnſtone, who had opened an epiſtolary correſpondence with certain individuals, reſpecting public affairs.

By the declaration of Congreſs, dated the 11th of Auguſt, it appears that Mr. Johnſtone on the preceding April, had written a letter to Joſeph Reed, Eſq; one of the members of Congreſs; and on the 16th of June another letter to Robert Morris, Eſq; beſides theſe, Mr. Reed declared, that on the 21ſt of June he had alſo received a written meſſage by a lady, in which it was inſinuated, that it was particularly wiſhed, Mr. Reed's intereſt might be obtained, to promote the object of Mr. Johnſtone's commiſſion, intimating that government ſhould take a favourable notice of ſuch a conduct; it could not be deemed improper; that in this inſtance Mr. Reed might have ten thouſand pounds ſterling, and any office in the Colonies in his Majeſty's gift.

Mr. Reed's reply to this marked his integrity, as well as his ſincerity in the cauſe in which he was engaged: He was not, he ſaid, worth purchaſing, but ſuch as he was, the King of Great Britain was not rich enough to do it! ——How happy would it be for us, did the political principles of our great men operate in the ſame manner! But the ſyſtem of corruption now in force, and European refinements permit us not to hope for ſuch inſtances of diſintereſtedneſs.

In conſequence of this very offenſive correſpondence, Congreſs reſolved, that it was a direct attempt to corrupt

rupt and bribe their members, and that they ought to demonſtrate the moſt pointed indignation againſt ſuch daring attrocious attempts to corrupt their integrity: Likewiſe, that it was incompatible with the honour of Congreſs, to hold any manner of intercourſe with the ſaid George Johnſtone, eſpecially upon affairs where the cauſe of liberty and virtue ſhould be intereſted. 1778.

Our commiſſioner's embaſſy, could, after this, be of no farther uſe, and in ſome little time he departed from America. His information to government, and to parliament, will, it is hoped, prove uſeful.

Our other remaining commiſſioners, in a declaration they publiſhed, affirmed ſolemnly, that on their part, they had no knowledge, directly or indirectly of what had paſſed between Mr. Johnſtone and the above named Mr. Morris and Mr. Reed, until they ſaw the correſpondence publiſhed. They afterwards charged Congreſs with their duplicity, concerning the treaty with France, and inſincere negociations, when the pacific diſpoſition of the mother country were known to them.

As it appeared evident to our Commiſſioners, that nothing more could be done by treaty, on the 3d of October, Lord Carliſle, Sir Henry Clinton, and William Eden, Eſq; publiſhed, what may be termed a manifeſto, or appeal to the public reſpecting the conceſſions that were made by Great Britain, and the conduct of Congreſs in the late negociation. It is full, and diſtinguiſhed in ſome parts, both by good ſenſe and moderation *.

But

* For the ſatisfaction of the reader, the whole of this remarkable manifeſto is publiſhed by the Editor.

MANIFESTO AND PROCLAMATION.

To the Members of the Congreſs, the Members of the General Aſſemblies or Convention of the ſeveral Colonies, Plantations and Provinces of New Hampſhire, Maſſachuſets Bay, Rhode Iſland, Connecticut, New York, New Jerſey, Pennſylvania, the Three Lower Counties on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, and all others, free inhabitants of ſaid Colonies, of every rank and denomination.

By the Earl of Carliſle, Sir Henry Clinton, and William Eden, Eſq; Commiſſioners appointed by his Majeſty, in purſuance of an act of parliament, made and paſſed in the 18th year of

1778. But it is time to turn to ſome other particulars, in which we were very intimately concerned, and on which our ſafety

his Majeſty's reign, to enable his Majeſty to appoint Commiſſioners to treat, conſult and agree, upon the means of quieting the diſorders now ſubſiſting in certain of the Colonies, Plantations, and Provinces of North America.

HAVING amply and repeatedly made known to the Congreſs, and having alſo proclaimed to the inhabitants of North-America in general, the benevolent overtures of Great Britain towards a re-union and coalition with her Colonies, we do not think it conſiſtent either with the duty we owe to our country, or with a juſt regard to the characters we bear, to perſiſt in holding out offers, which in our eſtimation required only to be known to be moſt gratefully accepted; and we have accordingly, excepting only the commander in chief, who will be detained by military duties reſolved to go to England a few weeks after the publication of this manifeſto and proclamation.

Previous however, to this deciſive ſtep, we are led by a juſt anxiety for the great objects of our miſſion to enlarge on ſome points which may not have been ſufficiently underſtood, to recapitulate to our fellow ſubjects the bleſſings which we are empowered to confer, and to warn them of the continued train of evils to which they are at preſent blindly and obſtinately expoſing themſelves.

To the members of the Congreſs we again declare that we are ready to concur in all ſatisfactory and juſt arrangements for ſecuring to them and their reſpective conſtituents, the re-eſtabliſhment of peace, with the exemption of any impoſition of taxes by the parliament of Great Britain, and the irrevocable enjoyment of overy privilege conſiſtent with that union of intereſts and force on which our mutual proſperity and the ſafety of our common religion and liberties depend. We again aſſert that the Members of the Congreſs were not authoriſed by their conſtitution, either to reject our offers without the previous conſideration and conſent of the ſeveral aſſemblies and conventions their conſtituents, or to refer us to pretended foreign treaties, which they know were deluſively framed in the firſt inſtance, and which have never yet been ratified by the people of this Continent. And we once more remind the members of the Congreſs that they are reſponſible to their countrymen, to the world, and to God, for the continuance of this war, and for all the miſeries with which it muſt be attended.

To the general aſſemblies and conventions of the different colonies, plantations and provinces above mentioned, we now ſeparately

safety in a great measure depended. Though war had not been declared by Great Britain, on the acknowledgment of American 1778.

separately make the offers which we originally made to the Congress; and we hereby call upon and urge them to meet expressly for the purpose of considering whether every motive, political as well as moral, should not decide their resolution to embrace the occasion of cementing a free and firm coalition with Great-Britain. It has not been, nor is it, our wish, to seek the objects which we are commissioned to pursue by fomenting popular divisions and partial cabals; we think such conduct would be ill suited to the generous nature of the offers made, and unbecoming the dignity of the king and the states which make them. But it is both our wish and our duty to encourage any men or bodies of men in their return of loyalty to our sovereign and of affection to our fellow subjects.

To all others, free inhabitants of this once happy empire, we also address ourselves. Such of them as are actually in arms, of whatsoever rank or description, will do well to recollect, that the grievances, whether real or imposed, which led them into this rebellion have been for ever removed, and that the just occasion is arrived of their returning to the class of peaceful citizens. But if the honours of a military life are become their object, let them seek those honours under the banners of their rightful sovereign, and in fighting the battles of the united British empire against our late mutual and natural enemy.

To those whose profession it is to exercise the functions of religion on the Continent, it cannot surely be unknown, that the foreign power with which the Congress is endeavouring to connect them, has ever been averse to toleration and inveterately opposed to the interest and freedom of the places of worship which they serve; and that Great Britain from whom they are for the present separated, must both from the principles of her constitution and protestantism, be at all times the best guardian to religious liberty, and most disposed to promote and extend it.

To all those who can estimate the blessings of peace and its influence over agriculture, arts and commerce, who can feel a just anxiety for the education and establishment of their children, or who can place a just value on domestic security, we think it sufficient to observe, that they are made by their leaders to continue involved in all the calamities of war, without having either a just object to pursue, or a subsisting grievance which may not instantly be redressed.

But if there be any persons who, divested of mistaken resentments, and uninfluenced by selfish interests, really think that it

1778. American independence by France; yet theſe powers made the moſt vigorous efforts to ſupport a ſupremacy at ſea. England

is for the benefit of the colonies to ſeparate themſelves from Great Britain, and that ſo ſeparated they will find a conſtitution more mild, more free, and better calculated for their proſperity than that which they heretofore enjoyed and which we are diſpoſed and empowered to renew and improve; with ſuch perſons we will not diſpute a poſition which ſeems to be ſufficiently contradicted by the experience they have had. But we think it right to leave them fully aware of the change which the maintaining of ſuch a poſition muſt make in the whole nature and future conduct of this war; more eſpecially when to this poſition is added the pretended alliance with the court of France.—The policy as well as the benignity of Great Britain have thus far checked the extremes of war when they tended to diſtreſs a people ſtill conſidered as our fellow ſubjects, and to deſolate a country ſhortly to become again a ſource of mutual advantage: But when that country profeſſes the unnatural deſign, not only of eſtranging herſelf from us, but of mortgaging herſelf and her reſources to our enemies, the whole conteſt is changed; and the queſtion is, how far Great Britain may, by every means in her power deſtroy or render uſeleſs a connexion contrived for her ruin, and for the aggrandizement of France. Under ſuch circumſtances the laws of ſelf preſervation muſt direct the conduct of Great Britain, and if the Britiſh colonies are to become an acceſſion to France, will direct her to render that acceſſion of as little avail as poſſible to her enemy.

If however there are any who think that notwithſtanding theſe reaſonings the independence of the colonies will in the reſult be acknowledged by Great Britain, to them we anſwer without reſerve, that we neither poſſeſs nor expect powers for that purpoſe; and that if Great Britain could ever have ſunk ſo low as to adopt ſuch a meaſure, we ſhould not have thought ourſelves compellable to be the inſtrument in making a conceſſion which would in our opinion be calamitous to the colonies for whom it is made, and diſgraceful as well as calamitous to the country from which it is required. And we think proper to declare that in this ſpirit and ſentiment we have regularly written from this continent to Great Britain.

It will now become the Colonies in general to call to mind their own ſolemn appeals to heaven in the beginning of this conteſt, that they took arms only for the redreſs of grievances, and that it would be their wiſh as well as their intereſt to remain for ever connected with Great Britain. We again aſk them whether all

England had long maintained the empire of the ocean; but with every exertion, the fleet for home defence, and designed 1778.

all their grievances, real or ſuppoſed, have not been amply and fully redreſſed; and we inſiſt that the offers we have made leave nothing to be wiſhed in point of immediate liberty or permanent ſecurity: If thoſe offers are now rejected, we withdraw from the exerciſe of a commiſſion with which we have in vain been honoured; the ſame liberality will no longer be due from Great Britain, nor can it either in juſtice or policy be expected from her.

In fine, and for the fuller manifeſtation as well of the diſpoſition we bear, and of the gracious and generous purpoſes of the commiſſion under which we act, we hereby declare, that whereas his Majeſty in purſuance of an act made and paſſed in the 18th ſeſſion of parliament, entitled, "an act to enable his Majeſty to appoint Commiſſioners with ſufficient powers, to treat, conſult, and agree upon the means of quieting the diſorders now ſubſiſting in certain of the Colonies, Plantations and provinces of North America," having been pleaſed to authoriſe and empower us to grant pardon or pardons to any number or deſcription of perſons, within the Colonies, Plantations and Provinces of New Hampſhire, Maſſachuſetts Bay, Rhode Iſland, Connecticut, New York, New Jerſey, Pennſylvania, the three lower counties on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia; and whereas the good effects of the ſaid authorities and powers towards the people at large, would long ſince have taken place, if a due uſe had been made of our firſt communications and overtures, and have thus far been fruſtrated only by the precipitate reſolution of the members of the Congreſs not to treat with us, and by their declining to conſult with their conſtituents: We now, in making our appeal to thoſe conſtituents and to the free inhabitants of this continent in general, have determined to give to them what in our opinion ſhould have been the firſt of thoſe who appeared to have taken the management of their intereſts; and adopt this mode of carrying the ſaid authorities and powers into execution. We, "accordingly hereby grant and proclaim a pardon or pardons of all, and all manner of treaſons or miſpriſion of treaſons, by any perſon or perſons, or by any number or deſcription of perſons within the ſaid Colonies, Plantations or Provinces, counſelled, countermanded, acted or done, on or before the date of this manifeſto and proclamation.

And we further declare and proclaim, that if any perſon or perſons, or any number or deſcription of perſons within the ſaid Colonies, Plantations and Provinces, now actually ſerving in either

1778. deſigned to cope with the French navy, little exceeded 30 ſhips of the line: they were, in number, conſiderably inferior to thoſe of the enemy.

This

ther a civil or military capacity in this rebellion, ſhall at any time, during the continuance of this manifeſto and proclamation, withdraw himſelf or themſelves from ſuch civil or military ſervice, and ſhall continue from thenceforth peaceably as a good and faithful ſubject or ſubjects to his Majeſty to demean himſelf or themſelves, ſuch perſon or perſons, or ſuch number and deſcription of perſons, ſhall become and be, fully entitled to, and hereby obtain all the benefit of the pardon or pardons hereby granted; excepting only from the ſaid pardon or pardons every perſon, and every number and deſcription of perſons, who, after the date of this manifeſto and proclamation, ſhall, under the pretext of authority, as judges, jurymen, miniſters, or officers of civil juſtice, be inſtrumental in executing and putting to death any of his Majeſty's ſubjects within the ſaid colonies, Plantations and Provinces.

And we think proper farther to declare, that nothing herein contained is meant, or ſhall be conſtrued to ſet at liberty any perſon or perſons, now being a priſoner or priſoners, or who during the continuance of this rebellion ſhall become a priſoner or priſoners.

And we offer to the Colonies at large, or ſeparately, a general or ſeparate peace, with the revival of their antient governments ſecured againſt any future infringements, and protected for ever from taxation by Great Britain. And with reſpect to ſuch farther regulations, whether civil, military, or commercial, as they may wiſh to be framed and eſtabliſhed, we promiſe all the concurrence and aſſiſtance that his Majeſty's commiſſion authoriſes and enables us to give.

And we declare that this Manifeſto and Proclamation ſhall continue, and be in force forty days from the date thereof, that is to ſay from the third day of October to the eleventh day of November, both incluſive.

And in order that the whole contents of this Manifeſto and Proclamation may be more fully known, we ſhall direct copies thereof both in the Engliſh and German language to be tranſmitted by flags of truce to the Congreſs, the general aſſemblies or conventions of the Colonies, Plantations and Provinces. And for the further ſecurity in times to come of the ſeveral perſons or numbers or deſcriptions of perſons who are or may be the objects of this Manifeſto and Proclamation, we have ſet our hands and ſeals to thirteen copies thereof, and have tranſmitted the ſame to the thirteen Colonies, Plantations, and Provinces above men-

This fleet was ſtationed between Breſt and Uſhant. On the 17th two French ſhips, with two tenders, were obſerved reconnoitring; and Admiral Keppel directed his whole ſquadron to give chace. In the evening, the Milford had got cloſe along ſide of a large French frigate, and brought her to. The other was purſued by the Arethuſa, and Alert cutter, the Valiant and Monarch at ſome diſtance aſtern of them. This frigate for a ſhort time, gave battle to the Arethuſa. She was called the Belle Poule, and carried heavy metal. Her captain was requeſted to ſtrike, but refuſed, and fired a whole broad ſide into the Arethuſa: She was crippled, and loſt her mainmaſt. Captain Marſhal, her commander, could not get her head towards the frigate, which in the mean while ſet her foreſail, 1778.

tioned, and we are willing to hope that the whole of this Manifeſto and Proclamation will be fairly and freely publiſhed and circulated for the immediate, general, and moſt ſerious conſideration and benefit of all his Majeſty's ſubjects on this Continent. And we earneſtly exhort all perſons who by this inſtrument forthwith receive the benefit of the King's pardon, at the ſame time that they entertain a becoming ſenſe of theſe lenient and affectionate meaſures, whereby they are now freed from many grievous charges which might have riſen in judgment or have been brought in queſtion againſt them, to make a wiſe improvement of the ſituation in which this Manifeſto and Proclamation places them, and not only to recollect that a perſeverance in the preſent rebellion, or any adherence to the treaſonable connection attempted to be framed with a foreign power, will, after the preſent grace extended, be conſidered as crimes of the moſt aggravated kind, but to vie with each other in eager and cordial endeavours to ſecure their own peace and promote and eſtabliſh the proſperity of their countrymen, and the general weal of the empire.

And purſuant to his Majeſty's commiſſion we hereby require all officers civil and military, and all others his Majeſty's loving ſubjects whatſoever, to be aiding and aſſiſting unto us in the Execution of this our Manifeſto and Proclamation and of all the matters herein contained.

Given at New-York, this 3d day of October, 1778.

CARLISLE, (L. S)
H. CLINTON, (L. S)
WM. EDEN, (L. S)

By their Excellencies Command,
ADAM FERGUSON, Secretary.

1778. ſail, and ſtood into a ſmall bay, where boats came, and towed her into ſafety. The Arethuſa had eight men killed, and 36 wounded. In this action, captain Marſhal's bravery and good conduct were conſpicuous.

The wantonneſs of French perfidy was apparent in the commander of the frigate named the Licorne, which had been taken; ſhe was obſerved going upon a tack, when one of our ſhips that attended her, fired a ſhot acroſs, which was immediately followed by the frigate's diſcharging her whole broadſide and muſquetry into the America; after which, the French captain ſtruck his colours. His behaviour merited the fire of the America man of war, but to the laſting honour of the gallant Lord Longford, his humanity and prudence prevailed over his reſentment.

On the 18th of June, a French frigate of thirty-two guns, (called the Pallas) with 220 men was taken by our fleet, and likewiſe detained; but ſeveral French merchantmen were ſuffered to proceed unmoleſted.

Admiral Keppel on the 23d and 24th of July, had by letters informed the Lords of the Admiralty, that with the King's fleet under his command, he was in purſuit of a numerous fleet of French ſhips of war. From that time to the 27th, he had made uſe of every method to cloſe with them, keeping our ſhips as cloſe together as poſſible. At length, on the 27th of July, the wind admitted of the van of the King's fleet, leading up with, and cloſing with their center and rear.

The French began firing upon the headmoſt of the vice admiral Sir Robert Harland's diviſion, and the ſhips with him, as they led up. This cannonade was quickly returned by our ſhips, as they could cloſe up. The chace had occaſioned their being extended; yet they were all ſoon in battle.

The fleets being upon different tacks, paſſed each other very cloſe. The object of the French ſeemed to be the diſabling of our ſhips in their maſts and ſails, in which they ſo far ſucceeded, as to prevent many ſhips in the fleet from being able to follow the admiral, when he wore to ſtand after the French. This obliged him to wear again, to join thoſe ſhips, and thereby allowed of the French forming their fleet again, and to range it to a line to leeward of our fleet towards the cloſe of the day: This, admiral Keppel did not diſcourage, but allowed, without firing upon them, thinking, (as he expreſſed it) that they meant *handſomely*

ſomely to try their force with him next morning; but, ſaid Mr. Keppel, "they had been ſo beat in the day, they took advantage of the night to go off." He acknowledged in his letter, that the ſpirited conduct of vice admiral Sir Robert Harland, vice admiral Sir Hugh Palliſer, and the captains of the fleet, ſupported by their officers and men, deſerved much commendation. In this engagement, we had 133 men killed, and 373 wounded; but it is, perhaps, the firſt ſea fight between the Engliſh and French, in which there were no ſhips taken or deſtroyed. 1778.

This affair was ſpoken of in very different terms, or probably, in a great meaſure, as the ſpirit of party prompted. The public was diſappointed in their expectations from an admiral of acknowledged ſkill, and whoſe courage had been repeatedly tried. It were here abſurd to paſs a judgment on a matter depending on nice circumſtances; and eſpecially as a court martial is already appointed to try our admiral.

It is obſervable, that as uſual, the vanity of the French cauſed them to boaſt a victory. In their account of this engagement, they ſay, that the King's fleet purſued that of England, and conſtantly offered them battle in the beſt order, from two in the afternoon till the next morning; but that the Engliſh admiral availed himſelf of the darkneſs of the night to effect his retreat, by carefully hiding his fires, while all the King's ſhips carried theirs, that their poſition might be clearly perceived by the Engliſh army.

Thus ſpeaks French falſhood and vanity. The number of their killed and wounded hath not been aſcertained, but it is ſuppoſed their loſs far exceeded ours: Some have affirmed that they loſt above 1200 men.

The reſpective fleets went into port to be refitted; but it is obſervable, that admiral Keppel appeared firſt at ſea, and that the French did not again think fit to ſhew themſelves in force againſt him.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXII.

Complaints of the Dutch.——Manifeſto publiſhed by Lord Carliſle, Sir Henry Clinton, and William Eden, Eſq.—Proteſted againſt.—An extract from Governor Levington's meſſage to the General Aſſembly of New Jerſey.—Governor Johnſtone's laſt letter to Admiral Ferguſon noticed.—Gen. Lee ſuſpended.——Intention of the Editor.—Reflections.—Concluſion.

AS ſeveral Dutch ſhips had been ſeized with military ſtores deſigned for the Coloniſts; the Burgomaſters of Dort, on the 6th of Nov. aſſembled the committee of merchants; and on the 7th and 9th, thoſe of Amſterdam and Rotterdam were ſummoned to meet, in order to communicate the reſolutions of their High Mightineſſes, to their petitions of redreſs againſt the Engliſh treatment of their flag, and of the violence committed againſt their property. The committee of all the towns came into the ſame reſolutions on this meaſure.

Though it was the general opinion, that the Dutch had carried on the moſt unfriendly illicit commerce, reſpecting Great Britain; yet their demands were marked by raſhneſs and arrogance, and in a ſtyle, which but a few years ſince, they would not have dared to uſe. The humbled ſtate of Britain, induced miniſtry to return an anſwer, by Lord Suffolk, the mildneſs and equity of which, with ſome ſubſequent proceedings, cannot but ſecure that harmony which hath long ſubſiſted between that tenacious, ſelfiſh republic, and Great Britain: I haſten from this humiliating ſubject.

We have already mentioned the manifeſto, or appeal of our commiſſioners. That publiſhed in America, and ſigned Carliſle,—Eden,—and Clinton, has been reprobated in parliament, in the ſevereſt terms; as in it, the dreadful extremes of war, and terrors of devaſtation, are held out to the unhappy people of America, without diſcriminating between the innocent and the guilty.

The impolicy of it is evident, as it would not only foment laſting reſentments, but provoke to retaliation; a meaſure ſo iniquitous, and diſgraceful to civilization, that it ought to be avoided as the peſtilence itſelf.

The

1778.

The great object of a juſt war, is to obtain peace. Should the extremes of it be let looſe, not to procure the olive branch, but as the manifeſto expreſſes it, if America was to become an acceſſion to France, to render that acceſſion of as little avail as poſſible; this, ſurely, would be to ravage, or deſtroy an enemy, whom we had found ourſelves unable to conquer.

It was moved in the upper houſe, that an humble addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, to expreſs the diſpleaſure of the houſe at the aforeſaid manifeſto; humbly beſeeching his Majeſty that it may be diſavowed. as containing matter inconſiſtent with the humanity and generous courage, which at all times have diſtinguiſhed the Britiſh nation, &c.

This being objected to, by what is termed the court party, after an intereſting debate, the queſtion was put, and negatived by thirty four majority!——The biſhops of St. Aſaph, and Peterborough, to their great honour have uniformly oppoſed the preſent deſtructive conteſt: The former joined in the proteſt on this remarkable occaſion. But the ſpiritual bench, or miniſters of the goſpel of peace ſupported by their ſuffrages the manifeſto!—

It were wrong not to give thoſe illuſtrious names which appeared under this truly noble, and ſpirited proteſt: They are as follow, viz.

Camden	Ferrers	Grafton
Abergavenny	Stanhope	Craven
Portland	J. St. Aſaph	De Ferrers
Abingdon	Richmond	Devonſhire
Beaulieu	Harcourt	Cholmondeley
Scarborough	Effingham	Derbey
Rockingham	Wycombe	Foley
Mancheſter	Tankerville	Radnor
Bolton	Ponſonby	Spencer
Fitzwilliam	Forteſcue	Egremont.

Such names!—with the forcible reaſons given, render it a ſtrong, and glorious proteſt.——For the ſatisfaction of the reader, it is ſubjoined in a note. *

This,

Diſſentient,

1ſt. Becauſe the public law of nations, in affirmance of the dictates of nature, and the precept of revealed religion, forbids us

1778. This, as far as I know, is the firſt war in which the Engliſh name and arms have been tarniſhed by cruel deeds; and

us to reſort to the extremities of war upon our own opinion of their expediency, or in any caſe to carry on war for the purpoſe of deſolation. We know that the rights of war are odious, and inſtead of being extended upon looſe conſtructions and ſpeculations of danger, ought to be bound up and limited by all the reſtraints of the moſt rigorous conſtruction. We are ſhocked to ſee the firſt law of nature, ſelf-preſervation, perverted and abuſed into a principle deſtructive of all other laws; and a rule laid down, by which our own ſafety is rendered incompatible with the property of mankind. Thoſe objects of war which cannot be compaſſed by fair and honourable hoſtility, ought not to be compaſſed at all. An end that has no means, but ſuch as are unlawful, is an unlawful end. The manifeſto expreſly founds the change it announces from a qualified and mitigated war, to a war of extremity and deſolation, on the certainty that the provinces muſt be independent, and muſt become an acceſſion to the ſtrength of the enemy. In the midſt of the calamities, by which our loſs of empire has been preceded and accompanied; in the midſt of our apprehenſions for the farther calamities, which impend over us, it is a matter of freſh grief and accumulated ſhame, to ſee from a commiſſion under the great ſeal of this kingdom, a declaration for deſolating a vaſt continent, ſolely becauſe we had not the wiſdom to retain, or the power to ſubdue it.

2dly, Becauſe the avowal of a deliberate purpoſe of violating the law of nations, muſt give an alarm to every ſtate in Europe. All commonwealths have a concern in that law, and are its natural avengers. At this time, ſurrounded by enemies, and deſtitute of all allies, is it unneceſſary to ſharpen and embitter the hoſtility of declared foes, or to provoke the enmity of neutral ſtates. We truſt that by the natural ſtrength of this kingdom, we are ſecured from a foreign conqueſt, but no nation is ſecure from the invaſions and incurſions of enemies. And it ſeems to us the height of frenzy, as well as wickedneſs, to expoſe this country to cruel depredations, and other outrages, too ſhocking to mention (but which are all contained in the idea of the extremes of war and deſolation) by eſtabliſhing a falſe, ſhameful, and pernicious maxim, that where we have no intereſt to preſerve, we are called upon by neceſſity to deſtroy. This kingdom has long enjoyed a profound internal peace, and has flouriſhed above all others in the arts and enjoyments of that happy ſtate. It has been the admiration of the world for its cultivation and its plenty; for the comforts of the poor, the ſplendor of the rich, and the content and proſperity of all. This ſituation of ſafety may be attributed

ſomely to try their force with him next morning; but, ſaid Mr. Keppel, "they had been ſo beat in the day, they took advantage of the night to go off." He acknowledged in his letter, that the ſpirited conduct of vice-admiral Sir Robert Harland, vice admiral Sir Hugh Palliſer, and the captains of the fleet, ſupported by their officers and men, deſerved much commendation. In this engagement, we had 133 men killed, and 373 wounded; but it is, perhaps, the firſt ſea fight between the Engliſh and French, in which there were no ſhips taken or deſtroyed. The French in their account publiſhed by authority, confeſs they had a like number of killed and wounded. 1778.

CHAP. XXII.

Complaints of the Dutch, and negotiations thereon—meeting of the Parliament—Debates on the Manifeſto—Proteſt of Lords.

THE States of Holland are bound by treaty to aſſiſt Great Britain in caſe her dominions ſhould be attacked by a foreign enemy. In conſequence of this, as ſoon as the news arrived in London, that Dominica was taken by the French, the Britiſh miniſter at the Hague was ordered to demand from their High Mightineſſes the ſtipulated ſuccours. To this requiſition the ſame anſwer was received as when a like one had been made at the commencement of the late war, on the landing of Richelieu in Minorca, viz. The utter inability of the ſtates to furniſh the aſſiſtance required, and the certain ruin they ſhould draw upon themſelves, by provoking the reſentment of the French. The Engliſh miniſtry however, expected no other anſwer, the requiſition having been made only as a matter of courſe, but ſome tranſactions in Holland previous to this demand, ſhewed ſo unfavourable a diſpoſition in the people there to England, as in times leſs critical or when affairs were leſs perplexing, would have produced, if not a ſpirited memorial from the Britiſh court, at leaſt a parliamentary diſcuſſion. The facts were theſe:

Several Dutch veſſels laden with naval ſtores for Breſt and Rochfort, were ſeized by the Engliſh frigates in the channel; and a few with military ones for the rebellious Colonies, in the American ſeas.

The Hollanders would, it is probable, with their uſual phlegm have received accounts of theſe captures, and perhaps in ſome months after have made a remonſtrance by their miniſter; but on this occaſion, the emiſſaries of France and America were indefatigable; every Coffee-houſe in Amſterdam reſounded with the indignities the flag of the ſeven United Provinces daily ſuffered from the Engliſh, and what was an argument of ſtill greater weight, that the Dutch trade was in danger, from the reſtleſs and im-

immeaſurable ambition of England, whoſe immoderate thirſt of wealth and power, ſpurning every divine and human law, was glad of any pretence to fall upon her neighbours, to repay herſelf by piracy and plunder for the dominions in America her tyranny had loſt her.* 1778.

* The court of Verſailles did not only employ private emiſſaries on this occaſion, but their ambaſſador at the Hague after a great number of conferences with the States, delivered the following memorial to their High Mightineſſes, which places in the ſtrongeſt light the policy of that inſidious court.

Memorial preſented by his excellency the duke de Vauguyon, ambaſſador of France to the States General of the United Provinces of the Low Countries.

High and Puiſſant Senators,

"THE opinion which the king, my Maſter, has entertained, that your high Mightineſſes, animated with a deſire of perpetuating the perfect harmony which ſubſiſts between France and the States General, will, in the preſent circumſtances, ſcrupulouſly adhere to the principles of abſolute neutrality, has induced his majeſty to comprehend the United Provinces in the regulation which was made in the month of July laſt, concerning the commerce and navigation of neutral powers.

"His majeſty has ſtill leſs reaſon to doubt the perſeverence of your High Mightineſſes in theſe principles, after ſo many aſſurances given in claiming their captures, which are the foundation and guarantee of the ſolid repoſe and proſperity of the republic. But his majeſty, notwithſtanding, wiſhes to procure on this head a more certain aſſurance, and it is with this view that his majeſty has ordered me to demand of your High Mightineſſes a clear and ſpecific explanation of your ulterior determinations, and ſo to ſtate them, that his majeſty may be enabled to judge whether they tend to maintain or annul the reciprocal regulations which his majeſty would wiſh to conſolidate.

"The better to explain his majeſty's views and intentions to your High Mightineſſes, I have the honour of notifying to you, that the King my maſter flatters himſelf, that your anſwer to this memorial will preſerve the flag of the United provinces, all the liberty which of right belongs to them as an independent ſtate, and to their commerce all the reſpect which is due by the law of nations, and the faith of treaties.

1778. They ſucceeded, ſeveral meetings of the merchants were called by the Burgomaſters of Amſterdam, Rotterdam and Dort early in November; addreſſes to the States General from each of theſe places were preſented, ſome of them in terms ſo injurious to England, that it was eaſy to diſcern who were the inſtigators. The States complied with the popular clamour, and though it is known the Engliſh intereſt preponderates in that aſſembly, the memorial preſented by their ambaſſador at London was conceived in a tone and ſtyle ſo arrogant, as a few years before would have provoked the national reſentment; but this was no time for engaging in further troubles: the ſecretary for the Northern department, [The Earl of Suffolk] therefore gave a mild and candid anſwer, promiſing that the ſtricteſt attention ſhould be paid, to the obſervance of the neutrality between Great Britain and the States of Holland. He then proceeded to inform their High Mightineſſes, with the conduct of France which had given occaſion to the preſent hoſtilities, and ſpread the flame of war from the American coaſts to the European ſeas: "That his majeſty, without any provocation on his part, and by a train of inſiduous, unjuſt proceedings, on the part of the court of France, finds himſelf actually engaged in hoſtilities againſt the moſt Chriſtian king; who, as all Europe ought to have ſeen with aſtoniſhment and indignation, in the midſt of the moſt formal and often repeated aſſurances of the moſt perfect amity, and moſt pacific diſpoſitions, hath violated the publick faith, and the rights of Sovereigns, by declaring the rebellious ſubjects of another power to be independent States, merely becauſe thoſe ſubjects have thought proper to call themſelves ſuch; and to invite the powers

"The leaſt derogation from thoſe principles of neutrality you have profeſſed, will betray a partiality, the conſequence of which will incur the neceſſity of putting an end to not only the advantages his majeſty promiſes to your flag in caſe of a ſtrict obſervance of this neutrality; but alſo the eſſential favours and benefits which the commerce of the United provinces enjoy in all the ports of this kingdom.

"This memorial is preſented without any other motive than to ſhew the good will and affection of his majeſty for your High Mightineſſes."

Hague Dec. 8, 1778.

1778.

" powers diſpoſed to profit by their rebellion, to join in " confederacy with them. This unjuſt aggreſſion, repre- " ſented by the court of France, as being a natural and ad- " vantageous advance towards the intereſt of her com- " merce, hath been followed by hoſtilities ſtill more vio- " lent, ſtill more public, namely by ſending a fleet to " America, in ſupport of his Majeſty's rebellious ſubjects, " and that too, before the king of Great Britain had taken " any other ſteps than that of recalling his ambaſſador from " Paris."

The next article in this anſwer contains a conceſſion on the part of the Britiſh court, that in any other circumſtances, would have been looked upon, as highly derogatory to the majeſty of the monarch, and ſhamefully humiliating to a nation, that holds ſo eminent a rank among the powers of Europe: " His majeſty, ſenſible of the extraordinary " manner in which he hath been ſuddenly engaged in an " actual war, and of the ſhort notice which the ſubjects " of their High Mightineſſes could have of this event as " it is alleged; is diſpoſed, and ready to PURCHASE " at a fair valuation the naval ſtores which have been cap- " tured, and are actually in the different ports of Great " Britain, aboard veſſels appertaining to the ſubjects of " the Republic; to *pay* the freight of the cargoes and to " INDEMNIFY the proptietors in all their juſt expences " and damages occaſioned by the detention of their veſſels; " and his majeſty will give inſtructions to his ambaſſador " to enter upon a negotiation with the miniſter of the re- " public, to the end that an arrangement be made for the " future, upon the principles of equity and friendſhip, " ſuch as is meet between ſuch good and antient allies."

While theſe matters were tranſacting, the ſeſſion of Parliament was opened at Weſtminſter November 26, with a ſpeech from the Throne in which his majeſty acquainted the Houſes with the ſituation of affairs in the following words.

" In the time of profound peace, without pretence of provocation or colour of complaint, the court of France hath not forborne to diſturb the public tranquility, in violation of the faith of treaties, and the general rights of ſovereigns, at firſt by the clandeſtine ſupply of arms and other aid to my revolted ſubjects in North America, afterwards by avowing openly their ſupport, and entering into

1778. formal engagements with the leaders of the rebellion, and at length by committing open hoſtilities and depradations on my faithful ſubjects, and by an actual invaſion of my dominions in America and the Weſt Indies.

" It is, I truſt, unneceſſary for me to aſſure you, that the ſame care and concern for the happineſs of my people, which induced me to endeavour to prevent the calamities of war, will make me deſirous to ſee a reſtoration of the bleſſings of peace, whenever it can be effected with perfect honour, and with ſecurity to the rights of this country.

" In the mean time, I have not neglected to take the proper and neceſſary meaſures for diſappointing the malignant deſigns of our enemies, and alſo for making general repriſals; and although my efforts have not been attended with all the ſucceſs, which the juſtice of our cauſe and the vigour of our exertions ſeemed to promiſe, yet the extenſive commerce of my ſubjects has been protected in moſt of its branches, and large repriſals has been made upon the injurious aggreſſors, by the vigilence of my fleets, and by the active and enterprizing ſpirit of my people.

" The great armaments of other powers, however friendly and ſincere their profeſſions, however juſt and honourable their purpoſes, muſt neceſſarily engage our attention.

" It would have afforded me very great ſatisfaction to have informed you that the conciliatory meaſures planned by the wiſdom and temper of parliament, had taken the deſired effect, and brought the troubles in North America to a happy concluſion.

" In this ſituation of affairs, the national honour and ſecurity, call ſo loudly upon us for the moſt active exertions, that I cannot doubt of your heartieſt concurrence and ſupport. From the vigour of my councils, and the conduct and intrepidity of my officers and forces by ſea and land, I hope under the bleſſing of God, to derive the means of vindicating and maintaining the honour of my crown, and the intereſts of my people, againſt all our enemies."

Addreſſes as uſual, ecchoing the ſpeech, were moved for in both houſes, and after much debate and the introduction of much extraneous matter, thoſe of the kings friends were carried in the upper houſe, 67 to 35 and in the lower 226 to 107.

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An adjournment ſucceeded the preſenting of the addreſſes. When the houſes met again [Dec. 4] the Marquis of Rockingham, in the Lord's, roſe and holding a paper in his hand, ſaid it was the proclamation or manifeſto of the commiſſioners in America, a proclamation, he ſaid, contrary to humanity, chriſtianity and every idea of virtuous policy. He appologized for bringing a ſtate-paper into the houſe in that unuſual manner, but hoped in ſo urgent a matter as the preſent, when the proclamation was ſo univerſally allowed to be authentic, this form would be overlooked, and the conſideration of it entered into. The Law-lords however differed from him on this ſubject, and after ſome ſhort converſation his lordſhip ſubmitted to their opinion and therefore moved "That an humble addreſs be preſented to "his majeſty, that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to order "the proper officers to lay before the houſe all papers "printed by authority of the commiſſioners in America." which motion being agreed to, the papers demanded were on the 7th of December produced by Lord Weymouth.

The Marquis of Rockingham, after condemning in the ſevereſt terms the barbarity and dangerous policy that inſpired this proclamation, which would inevitably provoke retaliation, not only from America but from her new ally, and eſtabliſh a precedent of cruelty, whoſe effects we might feel at a future day from other beligerant powers; called upon the houſe alſo to conſider that if even humanity was out of the queſtion, our own coaſts were too much expoſed to attempt ſo dangerous an experiment: the alarm at Lord Selkirk's by Paul Jones was a proof that we were vulnerable. If no deſolation was committed then, it was owing to the humanity of our enemy, not to the impoſſibility of effecting it. The latter alarm at Newcaſtle, though not of ſo ſerious a nature, evinced how eaſy it would be to waſte and deſtroy our country. What if France and America were to adopt a ſimilar ſyſtem in the Weſt-India iſlands? If they were to burn down and lay waſte the Plantations in Jamaica, the wealth of England could not repair the injury. What would be an irrepairable loſs to us would be an invaluable acquiſition to France: for by deſtroying our ſugar-works, her iſlands would have the whole monopoly of the ſugar-trade, the People of Jamaica were ſo ſenſible of their danger in this point, that when the buccaneers infeſted their coaſts, a planter who cultivated ſugar-canes within ſeven

1778. or eight miles of the ſea was generally eſteemed a madman, and no leſs than that ſpace of wood-land was thought a ſufficient defence againſt their devaſtations. The precaution ceaſed at the ſuppreſſion of the Buccaneers, but the madneſs of adminiſtration ſeemed determined to revive thoſe times of cruelty and plunder.

Such conduct, he continued, was calculated to eſtrange from this country the minds of our Weſt-India ſubjects. How different the virtue or policy of France? ſee it in the capitulation of Dominica; that Iſland upon whoſe fortifications ſo much money had been expended, and for whoſe defence ſo ſmall a number of men was provided! ſuch a capitulation as was never heard of before! a capitulation which reſerved to the inhabitants not only their property, laws, and religion, but even a right of appeal to the judicature of Great-Britain.

This bold and noble policy he ſaid called to mind what happened during laſt war when we were about to attack Martinique. One of the officers aſked the French agent at Guadaloupe, "Did he think the force we were ſending againſt that place would be ſufficient to do the buſineſs? upon which the agent replied, there was no doubt of our ſucceſs if the force was but juſt great enough to check the military power there, for as the inhabitants were held in ſo miſerable a ſtate of oppreſſion, they would rejoice in the ſucceſs of our arms."

After many other pointed obſervations the Marquis concluded his ſpeech with a motion, "That an addreſs be "preſented to his Majeſty, ſtating the diſpleaſure of the "houſe at certain parts of the proclamation then before "them; which were deſtructive of humanity, ſubverſive "of the chriſtian religion, and dictated by an adminiſtra-"tion, the baſis of whoſe conduct was corruption! and "praying that his Majeſty would graciouſly cauſe the ſame "to be publicly diſclaimed and contradicted; as the ſaid "proclamation was not warranted by parliament, and "could not poſſibly be authorized, allowed and counte-"nanced by his Majeſty."

This motion was warmly ſupported by the lords of the minority: the biſhop of Peterborough in particular, who obſerved "that there was but one principle on which a war of any ſpecies could be reconciled to a Chriſtian mind: and that was, a view to obtain a juſt and honourable peace. The proclamation then in agitation had confeſſedly no ſuch object.

object. The devaſtations denounced by it, were to be the consequence of a failure in every hope of peace and reconciliation. The extremes of war were to be let looſe, not to obtain peace; but as the manifeſto expreſſes it, "if America was to become an acceſſion to France, to render "that acceſſion of as little avail as poſſible." This was, in plain Engliſh, to ravage and deſtroy in mad and vengeful deſpair, the enemy, whom we found ourſelves unable to conquer. 1778.

"The enemies of the name of Chriſt had hitherto been obliged to confeſs, that it was a peculiar excellence in the Chriſtian religion to have ſet limits to the horrors of war, and confined the cruelties of military maſſacres within certain bounds. Was it then reſerved for Great Britain to ſet the firſt example of returning to the primitive barbarities of war! If government perſiſted in the inhuman purpoſe, he adviſed them to ſtop the propagation of Chriſtianity amongſt the ſavages, and entreated them, if thoſe poor unenlightened wretches were ſtill to be employed in the works of blood and rapine. not to deprive them of their IGNORANCE——the only plea which they had now to urge for their barbarities at the throne of grace."

On the other hand the lords in adminiſtration contended; that the proclamation meant no more than that the war which had hitherto been carried on againſt America, and had been conducted in a mode very different from the rigours generally uſed againſt belligerant powers, ſhould in future be carried on as if it were againſt the natural enemy with which ſhe had allied herſelf.——That the Proclamation pointed out the bleſſings which America enjoyed, and might ſtill enjoy under Britiſh Government, and the miſeries ſhe had ſuffered, and muſt yet ſuffer, if ſhe perſiſted in rejecting our connection, and in ſuch plain and obvious language, that nothing leſs than faction could put ſuch odious conſtructions on it, for the purpoſe of deluding the vulgar, with idle ſuggeſtions and falſe apprehenſions.——That if America was to become a place of arms, and reſource of our natural enemy, it was but juſt and politic to diſmantle her forts, deſtroy her harbours and render her in every reſpect unfit to give protection or ſhelter to the foe. Such ſeverities were neceſſary even towards France, and by joining with that power in an offenſive and defenſive war, America could not expect leſs; that ſhe deſerved greater ſeverities at our hands, for ſuch an unnatural junction

1778. tion againſt us. She was leagued with France, not merely to protect her own independence but for our determined deſtruction; to talk of peace with her now was chimerical, if we give up the Colonies, we muſt give up the Weſt-Indies, Florida, Nova-Scotia and the fiſheries, and in ſhort the empire of the ſea!

During this debate which laſted to a very late hour, lord Stormont, the late ambaſſador at the court of Verſailles, being called upon to declare, if he had not given ſuch timely intimation to the miniſtry of the deſigns of France as might have enabled them to prevent the ſailing of the French fleet to America, he roſe, and after obſerving the impropriety of calling upon him, who from the office he lately held was bound to ſecrecy, declared, that however he thought he might without any breach of his obligation, ſay this much on the occaſion for the ſatisfaction of the houſe and in juſtice to himſelf; That he had early received and communicated intelligence of the deſigns of France, and her hoſtile views; that her treaty with America publiſhed at Verſailles was not her only one, there was another whoſe ſubject is the total deſtruction of Great-Britain, for they have even apportioned the parts our dominions which are to belong to France and which are to belong to America.

The queſtion on the motion being at laſt put there appeared

Contents [with proxies]	37
Not Contents, ditto	71
Majority againſt the motion	34

The next day the following proteſt againſt the vote was entered on the Journals.

Diſſentient,

1ſt. Becauſe the public law of nations, in affirmance of the dictates of nature, and the precepts of revealed religion, forbids us to reſort to the extremities of war upon our own opinion of their expediency, or in any caſe to carry on war for the purpoſe of deſolation. We know that the rights of war are odious, and inſtead of being extended upon looſe conſtructions and ſpeculations of danger, ought to be bound up and limited by all the reſtraints of the moſt rigorous conſtruction. We are ſhocked to

ſee

ſee a principle deſtructive of all other laws; and a rule laid down, by which our own ſafety is rendered incompatible with the property of mankind. Thoſe objects of war which cannot be compaſſed by fair and honourable hoſtility, ought not to be compaſſed at all. An end that has no means, but ſuch as are unlawful, is an unlawful end. The manifeſto expreſly ſounds the charge, it announces from a qualified and mitigated war, a war of extremity and deſolation, on the certainty that the provinces muſt be independent, and muſt become an acceſſion to the ſtrength of the enemy. In the midſt of the calamities, by which our loſs of empire has been preceded and accompanied; in the midſt of our apprehenſions for the farther calamities, which impend over us, it is a matter of freſh grief and accumulated ſhame, to ſee from a commiſſion under the great ſeal of this kingdom, a declaration for deſolating a vaſt continent, ſolely becauſe we had not the wiſdom to retain, or the power to ſubdue it. 1778.

2dly, Becauſe the avowal of a deliberate purpoſe of violating the law of nations, muſt give an alarm to every ſtate in Europe. All commonwealths have a concern in that law, and are its natural avengers. At this time, ſurrounded by enemies, and deſtitute of all allies, it is unneceſſary to ſharpen and embitter the hoſtility of declared foes, or to provoke the enmity of neutral ſtates. We truſt that by the natural ſtrength of this kingdom, we are ſecured from a foreign conqueſt, but no nation is ſecure from the invaſions and incurſions of enemies. And it ſeems to us the height of frenzy, as well as wickedneſs, to expoſe this country to cruel depredations, and other outrages, too ſhocking to mention (but which are all contained in the idea of the extremes of war and deſolation) by eſtabliſhing a falſe, ſhameful, and pernicious maxim, that where we have no intereſt to preſerve, we are called upon by neceſſity to deſtroy. This kingdom has long enjoyed a profound internal peace, and has flouriſhed above all others in the arts and enjoyments of that happy ſtate. It has been the admiration of the world for its cultivation and its plenty; for the comforts of the poor, the ſplendor of the rich, and the content and proſperity of all. This ſituation of ſafety may be attributed to the greatneſs of our power. It is more becoming, and more true, that we ought to attribute that ſafety, and the power which procured it, to the ancient juſtice, honour, humanity, and generoſity of this kingdom, which brought down the bleſſing of Providence on a people who made their proſperity a benefit to the world, and intereſted all nations in their fortune; whoſe example of mildneſs and benignity at once humanized others, and rendered itſelf inviolable. In departing from theſe ſolid principles, and vainly truſting to the fragility of human force, and to the efficacy of arms, rendered impotent by their perverſion, we lay down principles, and furniſh examples of the

moſt

1778. moſt atrocious barbarity. We are to dread that all our power, peace, and opulence, ſhould vaniſh like a dream, and that the cruelties which we think ſafe to exerciſe, becauſe their immediate object is remote, may be brought to the coaſts, perhaps to the boſom of this kingdom.

3dly. Becauſe, if the explanation given in debate, be expreſſive of the true ſenſe of the article in the manifeſto, ſuch explanation ought to be made, and by as high authority as that under which the exceptionable article was originally publiſhed. The natural and obvious ſenſe indicates, that the extremes of war had hitherto been checked; that his majeſty's generals had hitherto foreborne (upon principles of benignity and policy) to deſolate the country; but that the whole nature, and future conduct of the war, muſt be changed, in order to render the American acceſſion of as little avail to France as poſſible. This, in our apprehenſions, conveys a menace of carrying the war to extremes, and to deſolation, or it means nothing. And as ſome ſpeeches in the houſe (however palliated) and as ſome acts of ſingular cruelty, and perfectly conformable to the apparent ideas in the manifeſto, have lately been exerciſed, it becomes the more neceſſary, for the honour and ſafety of this nation, that this explanation ſhould be made. As it is refuſed, we have only to clear ourſelves to our conſciences, to our country, to our neighbours, and to every individual who may ſuffer in conſequence of this atrocious menace, of all part in the guilt, or in the evils that may become its puniſhment. And we chooſe to draw ourſelves out, and to diſtinguiſh ourſelves to poſterity, as not being the firſt to renew, to approve, or to tolerate the return of that ferocity and barbariſm in war, which a beneficent religion, enlightened manners, and true military honour, had for a long time baniſhed from the Chriſtian world.

Signed.

Camden	Ferrers	Grafton
Abergavenny	Stanhope	Craven
Portland	J. St. Aſaph	De Ferrers
Abingdon	Richmond	Devonſhire
Beaulieu	Harcourt	Cholmondeley
Scarborough	Effingham	Derbey
Rockingham	Wycombe	Foley
Manchester	Tankerville	Radnor
Bolton	Ponſonby	Spencer
Fitzwilliam	Forteſcue	Egremont.

A ſimi-

A ſimilar motion for an addreſs was made the ſame day in the houſe of commons, and a long debate much on the ſame ground enſued, after which there appeared on a diviſion, 1778.

Ayes for the motion	122
Noes	209
Majority againſt it	87

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIII.

Mortifications ſuffered by the Commiſſioners.——Marquis de la Fayette challenges lord Carliſle.——Manifeſto.——Boſton blocked by Byron.——Dreadful ſtorm and loſs of Engliſh ſhips.——D'Eſtaing ſails from Boſton.

THE contempt with which every effort made by the Britiſh Commiſſioners to open a negotiation with the Congreſs and people of America, had been treated with, was not the only mortification they were deſigned to ſuffer. The reprobation of their commiſſion was attended with many perſonal indignities and affronts; their letters to perſons, formerly their intimate acquaintances, were returned to them unanſwered, or if they received any, it was worded with ſuch coldneſs and indifference, as, evinced, that every friendly diſpoſition was abſorpt in the temper of the times, and that the preſent conteſt, like that between brothers, was the more rancourous from their former connection.

Nor was it of their acquaintances alone they had reaſon to complain, there was not an action of their lives that could give colour to malignity, that was not aggravated in the American prints, to a magnitude of deformity. The attempt pretended to have been made by Mr. Johnſtone to bribe one of the members of the Congreſs, as was mentioned in a former chapter, was publiſhed through the Continent, and his name held in deteſtation as one who endeavoured to introduce the ſyſtem of corruption, that ſo fatally has ſapped the fabric of the Britiſh Conſtitution, acroſs the Atlantic.

Amid this public execration of the Commiſſioners, the french Marquis de la Fayette, whoſe military talents have juſtly raiſed him to a conſiderable rank in the American army, thought himſelf perſonally injured, by the reflections caſt on his country, in the letter from the Commiſſioners to the Congreſs of the 26th of Auguſt: fired with the ſuppoſed indignity he wrote a challenge to lord Carliſle, which with his lordſhip's anſwer is here ſubjoined.

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The Marquis De La Fayette to the Earl of Carliſle.

" I did not hitherto believe, my lord, that I ever ſhould have occaſion to meet you but on the footing of politeneſs, except at the head of the troops which we reſpectively command. Your letter of the 26th of Auguſt, to the Congreſs of the United States, and the inſulting expreſſion on my country, which you there have ſigned, could alone have given me cauſe to quarrel with you. I do not deign to refute the charge, my lord, but I deſire to puniſh it. It is from you, as chief of the commiſſion, that I demand a reparation as public as hath been the offence, and which muſt give the lie to the expreſſion you have uſed. I ſhould not have delayed this demand ſo long if your letter had reached me ſooner. My occaſions call me from hence for a few days, but on my return I hope to find your anſwer. Mr. Gimot, a French officer, will ſettle the time and place of our meeting to ſuit your conveniency. I do not doubt but that, for the honour of his compatriot, general Clinton will attend you to the field.

As to me, my lord, it is indifferent who attends you, provided that, to the glory of being a Frenchman, I join that of proving to a gentleman of your country, that no one dares to inſult mine, unpuniſhed.

(Signed) LA FAYETTE.

To the Marquis de la FAYETTE.

" SIR,

" I have received your letter tranſmitted to me from M. Gimot, and I confeſs I find it difficult to return a ſerious anſwer to its contents. The only one that can be expected from me as the king's commiſſioner, and which you ought to have known, is, that I do, and ever ſhall conſider myſelf ſolely reſponſible to my country and king, and not to any individual for my public conduct and language. As for any opinion or expreſſions contained in any publications iſſued under the commiſſion, in which I have the honour to be named, unleſs they are retracted in public, you may be aſſured I ſhall never, in any change of ſituation, be diſpoſed to give an account of them, much leſs recal them in private.

The injury alluded to in the correſpondence of the king's commiſſioners to Congreſs, I muſt remind you is not of a private

1778. private nature, and I conceive all national diſputes will be beſt decided by the meeting of admiral Byron and count d'Eſtaing.

(Signed), CARLISLE.

New-York, Oct. 11, 1778.

The manifeſto publiſhed by the commiſſioners the 3d of October at New York, as before recited; was immediately laid before Congreſs, and became the ſubject of diſquiſition, not whether any of the offers in it, ſhould be accepted, no member being hardy enough even to propoſe the moſt diſtant motion that might lead to a conſideration of them, but how any effect on the minds of the people which the conceſſions propoſed, or the threats denounced therein ſhould have, might be beſt counteracted. Some propoſed that no notice ſhould be taken of it, but that it ſhould be treated with the ſame ſilent contempt with former overtures; on the other hand, it was contended, that weak minds might be alarmed at the extreme of war it threatened, and lukewarm individuals allured by the ſpecious tender of peace and liberty it held out; that therefore it was proper and neceſſary that ſome counter-proclamation or manifeſto ſhould iſſue. The majority were of this opinion; in conſequence of which the following Manifeſto appeared:

By the Congreſs of the united States of America.

MANIFESTO.

"THESE United States having been driven to hoſtilities by the oppreſſive and tyrannous meaſures of Great Britain; having been compelled to commit the eſſential rights of man to the deciſion of arms; and having been at length forced to ſhake off a yoke which had grown too burthenſome to hear, they declared themſelves free and independent.

"Confiding in the juſtice of their cauſe; confiding in Him who diſpoſes of human events, although weak and unimproved, they ſet the power of their enemies at defiance.

"In this confidence they have continued, through the various fortune of three bloody campaigns, unawed by the power, unſubdued by the barbarity of their foes. Their virtuous citizens have borne, without repining, the loſs of many things which made life deſirable. Their brave troops have patiently endured the hardſhips and dangers of a ſituation, fruitful in both, beyond example.

"The

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"The Congreſs conſidering themſelves bound to love their enemies, as children of that being who is equally the Father of all, and deſirous, ſince they could not prevent, at leaſt to alleviate the calamities of war, have ſtudied to ſpare thoſe who were in arms againſt them, and to lighten the chains of captivity.

"The conduct of thoſe ſerving under the King of Great Britain, hath, with ſome few exceptions, been diametrically oppoſite. They have laid waſte the open country, burned the defenceleſs villages, and butchered the citizens of America. Their priſons have been the ſlaughter-houſes of her ſoldiers, their ſhips of her ſeamen, and the ſevereſt injuries have been aggravated by the groſſeſt inſults.

"Foiled in their vain attempt to ſubjugate the unconquerable ſpirit of freedom, they have meanly aſſailed the repreſentatives of America with bribes, with deceit, and the ſervility of adulation. They have made a mock of humanity, by the wanton deſtruction of men; they have made a mock of religion, by impious appeals to God, whilſt in violation of his ſacred commands; they have made a mock even of reaſon itſelf, by endeavouring to prove, that the liberty and happineſs of America could ſafely be entruſted to thoſe who have *ſold their own*, unawed by the ſenſe of virtue, or of ſhame.

"Treated with the contempt which ſuch conduct deſerved, they have applied to individuals; they have ſolicited them to break the bonds of allegiance, and imbrue their ſouls with the blackeſt of crimes: but fearing that none could be found through the United States, equal to the wickedneſs of their purpoſe, to influence weak minds, they have threatened more wide devaſtation.

"While the ſhadow of hope remained, that our enemies could be taught by our example to reſpect laws which are held ſacred among civilized nations, and to comply with the dictates of a religion which they pretend in common with us to believe and revere, they have been left to the influence of that religion, and that example. But ſince their incorrigible diſpoſitions cannot be touched by kindneſs and compaſſion, it becomes our duty by other means to vindicate the rights of humanity.

"We therefore the Congreſs of the United States in America, DO SOLEMNLY DECLARE AND PROCLAIM, That if our enemies preſume to execute their threats, or

1778. perſiſt in their preſent carreer of barbarity we will take ſuch exemplary vengeance as ſhall deter others from a like conduct.

" We appeal to that God who ſearcheth the hearts of men, for the rectitude of our intentions. And in his holy preſence we declare that as we are not moved by any light and haſty ſuggeſtions of anger or revenge, ſo through every poſſible change of fortune we will adhere to this our determination.

" DONE in Congreſs by unanimous conſent, the
" thirteenth day of October, one thouſand ſeven
" hundred and ſeventy eight.
" Atteſt.
" CHARLES THOMPSON, *Secretary.*

While thoſe matters were tranſacting on ſhore, admiral
Nov. 2. Byron, now joined by his ſcattered ſhips, and four ſhips of the line of the fleet lately under the command of Lord Howe, remained off Boſton; and though the winter was now ſetting in with its uſual inclemency on that ſtormy and dangerous coaſt, yet this brave commander knowing what importance it was to the ſervice, that the motions of ſo powerful an armament as the fleet under comte D'Eſtaing ſhould be cloſely watched, reſolved to keep his ſtation as long as there was a poſſibility of doing it with ſafety: to this, he was ſtill the more induced, by certain informations, that the French fleet were completely refitted and ready for ſailing, accompanied by ſeveral American ſtoreſhips, on a ſecret expedition.

Byron's ſhips, though the repairs they had received ſince their arrival on the coaſt of America were but ſlight, and the crews much reduced by the inceſſant fatigues they had undergone, were yet in tolerable condition; and their number being ſuperior to the French, there is little doubt but if the enemy had come out of Boſton any time in October, the Britiſh flag would have triumphed, and an end have been put to the hoſtile operations of D'Eſtaing's fleet in this part of the world. But on the ſecond of November, the wind which at this ſeaſon uſualy blows from the North-Weſt, ſuddenly ſhifted to a violent and heavy gale from the Eaſt, blowing directly on the coaſt. Seamen alone can conceive the horror of ſuch a ſituation, and the difficulty the beſt ſhips and moſt experienced ſailors have to eſcape, when a ruthleſs tempeſt added to the mountainous ſwell of the vaſt Atlantic, urges their deſtruction: the Somerſet of 64 guns, the Cornwal

wal of 74 and Zebra ſloop, were ſo entangled with the coaſt, that they could not clear it, and were in conſequence driven on ſhore and beat to pieces; great part of the crews periſhed, the remainder got on land, where it is ſaid, they were treated by the Americans with humanity. 1778.

The ſtorm continued with unremitting fury all the next day, but on the following, which was the 4th the wind without abating much of its violence, after veering round the compaſs, ſettled at the weſt; of which circumſtance the French Admiral availing himſelf, ſailed out of Boſton, and was deſcried on the 7th by the Culloden of 74 guns, one of Byron's fleet, ſteering to the ſoutheaſt; but the wind was ſtill ſo tempeſtuous that they paſſed cloſe by the Engliſh ſhip without taking any notice of her; one of the American ſtore ſhips however which lagged behind the fleet was fired upon by the Culloden, made a prize of and ſent into New-York: After which, this ſhip of war for ſeveral days vainly attempted to regain the American coaſt; but the captain finding the veſſel had ſuffered greatly in her rigging, and that her crew were ſickly and diſpirited; called his officers to conſult with him, when it was unanimouſly reſolved to bear away before the gale for Europe, which they did and, anchored the 13th of December in Milford Haven, at which time there were two hundred of the crew ſick in their hammocks, and the remainder in a condition little better, from the variety of hardſhips they had undergone. Admiral Byron with the reſidue of his fleet got into Rhode Iſland.

There is great reaſon to believe that the Britiſh miniſtry had been early apprized of D'Eſtaing's further plan of operations, and the deſigns of the French againſt the Engliſh Weſt-India Iſlands; for we find that early in October, and long before any diſpatches from London, conſequential to the taking of Dominica could have reached New-York, Sir Henry Clinton, on whom the command devolved after the return of the Howe's to Europe, prepared upwards of eighty tranſport-veſſels and furniſhing them with every neceſſary accommodation, the 24th of the ſame month, the 4th. 5th. 15th. 27th. 28th. 35th. 40th. 46th. 49th. 55th. regiments and a corps of Heſſians went on board them; in four days after they fell down to Sandy-Hook, from whence they ſailed for the Weſt-Indies the 1ſt of November, under the convoy of a ſmall ſquadron of men of war, commanded by commodore Hotham; being juſt three days before the departure of D'Eſtaing from Boſton. This

1778. force was designed to strengthen the garrisons of the West-India islands, these important places having been shamefully neglected, as has been before observed.

A few days after Hotham's departure from New-York, the merchants and traders of that city, presented a petition to the Commissioners; setting forth their acknowledgments for the indulgence to trade, granted them in the proclamation, published by their excellencies the 26th of September, by which they had been enabled to ship to the parent country, merchandize to the value of nearly one million, to the great advantage of commerce and credit: and praying, as the period of the indulgence granted them, was at hand, that they would renew and extend the term of the proclamation: That they would turn their attention to the precarious and restrained manner in which the trade they enjoyed was permitted them, and be pleased to allow a free importation from all the British ports, of such stores, provisions and merchandize, as are necessary for his majesty's army or navy, and the inhabitants under their protection. They then lamented the grievance they feared beyond redress, of the seizure and condemnation of several of the vessels intended for their port, with many articles necessary for the supplying his Majesty's forces and the inhabitants; which seizures they conceived, not authorized by the spirit of the prohibitory-law, which could be only intended to prevent supplies to the colonies in actual rebellion, but never meant to affect the property of loyal subjects under his majesty's immediate protection. They concluded with praying, that the same indulgences, might be extended to their fellow subjects of Rhode-Island.

To which the Commissioners made answer, "That they would readily comply with their wishes by continuing the benefit of that proclamation to a longer period: and should be glad, as well for the sake of the merchants as for the supply of the inhabitants under his majesty's protection, to afford every facility and security consistent with their powers, and what they might think right to the introduction of stores and provisions for the use of New-York and Rhode Island."

In consequence of which on the 18th of November the commissioners issued a proclamation, pursuant the prayer of the petition, including Rhode Island, and lengthening the term of suspension of the prohibitory law, to the first of June ensuing.

Shortly after the commencement of the American war, and pursuant to acts passed in the several States, prosecutions were

were carried on againſt the perſons and property of the friends to Britiſh government. Would, that we could ſay, theſe proceedings were conducted with that temper, wiſdom, and, at leaſt ſeeming, candour that inſpired the public acts of the American States in their congreſſional deliberations; it was far otherwiſe in this caſe, the rancour of party, perſonal animoſity, and the pride of triumphant faction, were unfettered, and under the ſanction of law, let looſe to wreak their vengeance on the friendleſs delinquent. The ſtate of Maſſachuſet's-bay particularly diſtinguiſhed itſelf by a great number of impriſonments and confiſcations, and at laſt toward the cloſe of this year publiſhed an act of proſcription, which being the principal and beſt digeſted document that has appeared on this occaſion, we ſhall preſent it to our readers: 1778.

State of Maſſachuſſets Bay in the year of our Lord, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-eight.

An act to prevent the return to this ſtate of certain perſons, therein named, and others who have left this ſtate, or either of the United States, and joined the enemies thereof.

WHEREAS Thomas Hutchinſon. Eſq; late governor of this State, &c. &c. &c. and many other perſons, have left this State, or ſome other of the United States of America, and joined the enemies thereof, and of the United States of America thereby not only depriving theſe ſtates of their perſonal ſervices, at a time when they ought to have afforded their utmoſt aid in defending the States againſt the invaſion of a cruel enemy, but manifeſting an inimical diſpoſition to the ſaid States, and a deſign to aid and abet the enemies thereof in their wicked purpoſes: And whereas many dangers may accrue to this State, and the United States, if ſuch perſons ſhould be again admitted to reſide in this State:

"Be it therefore enacted, by the council and houſe of repreſentatives, in general court aſſembled, and by the authority of the ſame, That if the ſaid Thomas Hutchinſon, Francis Bernard, Thomas Oliver, &c. *(Here follow upwards of* 300 *names)* or any other perſon, though not ſpecially named in this act, who have left this State, or either of the ſaid ſtates, and joined the enemies thereof as aforeſaid, ſhall, after the paſſing this act, voluntarily return to

1778. this State, it ſhall be the duty of the ſheriff of this county and of the ſelect men, committees of correſpondence, ſafety and inſpection, grand juries, conſtables and tythingmen and other inhabitants of the town wherein ſuch perſon or perſons may preſume to come, and they are hereby reſpectively empowered and directed, forthwith to apprehend and carry ſuch perſon or perſons before ſome juſtice of the peace within the county, who is thereby required to commit him or them to the common jail within the county, there in cloſe cuſtody, to remain until he ſhall be ſent out of the ſtate, as is herein after directed; and ſuch juſtice is hereby directed to give immediate information thereof to the board of war in this State: and the ſaid board of war are hereby empowered and directed to cauſe ſuch perſon or perſons, ſo committed, to be tranſported to ſome part or place within the dominions, or in the poſſeſſion of the king of Great-Britain, as ſoon as may be after receiving ſuch information, thoſe who are able, at their own expence, and others at the expence of the State; and for this purpoſe to hire a veſſel or veſſels, if need be.

"And be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That if any perſon or perſons, who ſhall be tranſported as aforeſaid, ſhall voluntarily return into this ſtate, without liberty firſt had and obtained from the general court, he ſhall on conviction thereof, before the ſuperior court of judicature, court of Aſſize, and general jail delivery, ſuffer the pains of death, without benefit of clergy.

"And be it enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That if the maſter of any ſhip or veſſel ſhall, after the paſſing of this act, knowingly bring into any port within this ſtate, any of the perſons above named; or if any perſon, ſhall willingly or willfully harbour or conceal any of the above perſons above named or deſcribed, after their return to this State, contrary to the deſign of this act, ſuch maſter or perſon, ſo offending, ſhall on conviction thereof before the court of common pleas in the county where the offence ſhall be committed, or before the ſuperior court of judicature, forfeit the ſum of five hundred pounds, one half thereof to the uſe of this ſtate, and the other half to the uſe of him or them who ſhall ſue for the ſame.

"And be it enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That the preſident of the council be, and he hereby is requeſted to write to the ſeveral legiſlative aſſemblies in the United States, incloſing a copy of this act, and deſiring them to tranſmit this aſſembly a liſt of the names of all the perſons who have left their reſpective ſtates and joined the enemies of the United

ted States, in order that ſuch perſons may be prevented from reſiding in this State. 1778

" And the ſecretary is directed to cauſe this act to be publiſhed in the ſeveral Boſton news-papers, and alſo in hand bills, and tranſmit five hundred copies thereof to the miniſters of the United States at the court of France, who are deſired to cauſe the ſame to be made public, as ſoon as may be, after they ſhall have received the ſame, that ſo the perſons named and deſcribed herein, may be deterred from attempting to come within this ſtate."

The proclamation of the Commiſſioners for extending the ſuſpenſion of the prohibitory law, was the laſt act we find they executed previous to their return to Europe from their fruitleſs embaſſy. It ſhould however have been mentioned in its place, that when after every attempt to open a negotiation with the Congreſs had proved abortive, and they had publiſhed the Manifeſto before recited, they requeſted Admiral Gambier, who then commanded the fleet at New-York, to provide ſmall veſſels bearing flags of truce, and commanded by naval Officers, to carry the Manifeſto to the different colonies; the Admiral accordingly, provided the veſſels as required: them ſent to New-London and Elizabeth-Town, were received with their diſpatches and diſmiſſed in a decent manner; but the Hotham ſloop commanded by Lieutenant Hale, addreſſed to the Congreſs and other aſſemblies at Philadelphia, was unfortunately wrecked in her paſſage up the Delaware; the crew after remaining three days on the wreck, during which two of them periſhed, were, with the commander, taken into cuſtody by order of the Congreſs and confined in a miſerable dungeon at Philadelphia.

This extraordinary tranſaction, ſo little conſonant to the cuſtom of civilized people, and the law of nations; though not an incident of prime magnitude, yet as it ſerves to ſhew the diſpoſition and temper of the Congreſs, is worthy of particular notice; the reader will be beſt informed of circumſtances, by preſenting him with ſeveral letters which paſſed on the occaſion, one of them incloſing the general reſolution of Congreſs on ſeditious papers, and the particular reſolve on this occaſion. The firſt is a letter from Mr. Dick, commiſſary for the navy priſoners at New-York, to Mr. Beatty commiſſary for the Rebel priſoners. The ſecond is an extract from a letter of Mr. Beatty's in anſwer

1778. thereto, encloſing the reſolution of Congreſs, and laſtly Admiral Gambiers letter of remonſtrance addreſſed to the Congreſs.

SIR. New-York, Oct. 17, 1778.

Admiral Gambier having been informed, that a pilot of the name of Welbank, lately employed in the Hotham Sloop, ſent with a flag of truce to the Delaware, is now cloſely confined in a dungeon at Philadelphia, and intended to be immediately proſecuted to death, on the pretence of his being a deſerter from the American ſervice, I am commanded to demand in the moſt peremptory manner, that the ſaid pilot may be immediately releaſed, and ſent hither, together with lieutenant Hale, and the crew of the late Hotham ſloop, whoſe impriſonment and detention is contrary to all faith and confidence, and in direct breach of the ſacred regard held and maintained by all nations in reſpect to veſſels bearing flags of Truce.

I am, Sir,
Your moſt obedient ſervant
Commiſſary Beatty. JAMES DICK.

Extract of a letter from Mr. John Beatty, commiſſary general for the rebel priſoners, dated November 14, 1778, to Mr. James Dick, commiſſary for naval priſoners at New-York.

"Herewith I tranſmit you two reſolves of Congreſs, that paſſed the 9th of November, in conſequence of your letter to me of the 29th ult. previouſly acquainting you I had referred to that body for anſwer, as it alludes to a former reſolve of the 16th of October, I thought proper to incloſe this alſo, both which you will be kind enough to lay before admiral Gambier, acquainting of him, that this is the whole of the anſwer I am directed to give him."

Reſolve of Congreſs relative to ſeditious papers.
In Congreſs, 16th Oct. 1778.

Whereas Congreſs, on the 22d of April, 1778, did reſolve, that any man or body of men, who ſhould preſume to make any ſeparate or partial convention or agreement with commiſſioners under the crown of Great-Britain, or any of them, ought to be conſidered and treated as open enemies to the United States; And whereas Congreſs have received intelligence, that the commiſſioners of the king of Great-Britain

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Britain are about to ſend, under the ſanction of a flag, certain ſeditious papers, under the name and title of manifeſtos, to be diſtributed throughout theſe United States, with a view to ſtir up diſſentions, animoſities, and rebellion, among the good people of theſe States; and whereas ſuch practices are contrary to the law of nations, and utterly ſubverſive of the confidence neceſſary for thoſe means which have been invented among civilized nations to alleviate the horrors of war, and therefore the agents employed to diſtribute the ſaid papers are not entitled to protection from a flag, while engaged in the proſecution of ſuch nefarious purpoſes.

Reſolved, That it be recommended to the executive powers of theſe United States, to take up and ſecure in ſafe and cloſe cuſtody, all and any perſon or perſons who, under the ſanction of flags or otherwiſe, may be concerned or engaged in the purpoſes aforeſaid; and farther, that the papers aforeſaid be printed in the ſeveral Gazettes, more fully to convince the good people of theſe ſtates of the inſidious deſigns of the ſaid commiſſioners. [Extract from the minutes,]

CHA. THOMSON, Sec.

A true copy examined.

A. SKINNER, D. Com. Priſoners.

Reſolve of Congreſs relative to the detention of admiral Gambier's pilot, lieutenant, &c.

In Congreſs, the 9th of November, 1778.

The committee, to whom we referred the letter of the 30th of October, of commiſſary Beatty, and the papers encloſed, brought in a report, whereupon,

Ordered, That the commiſſary Beatty be furniſhed with a copy of the reſolutions of Congreſs on the ſubject of ſeditious papers circulated under the colour of flags; and informed, that in the opinion of Congreſs there was good reaſon for confining the pilot, lieutenant, and crew of the veſſel mentioned in his letter; that if any objections are made to it on the part of the enemy, they muſt be diſcuſſed and ſettled on national grounds, and therefore that the peremptory requiſition of admiral Gambier will not be complied with. [Extract from the minutes,]

(Signed) CHA. THOMSON.

A. SKINNER, D. Com. Priſoners.

His

1778. His excellency Henry Laurens, Esq; and others, the members of the Congress, Philadelphia.

Ardent, off New York, Nov. 15, 1778.

Gentlemen,

When I made a requisition for the immediate release of an officer belonging to the king my master, shipwrecked in carrying a flag of truce, an act sacred not only among civilized nations, but held inviolable even among savages, it was no more peremptory than the singular conduct of your officer demanded, who under such circumstances (unauthorised, I was sure, by any liberal set of men, whatever my sentiments may be on other parts of their conduct) could dare to put an officer and his crew into a common prison.

1st. It was an undue advantage taken of the calamity of a wreck, and that wreck a flag of truce.

2dly. The resolution on which the Congress now wish to justify themselves, is subsequent in date to the fact of which they complain.

3dly. The manifesto in question was addressed in the first instance to the Congress themselves, and could not possibly be seditious.

This procedure being against the universal law of nations, and repugnant to the common dictates of reason and humanity, I rely on the most ample redress from the Congress, in compassionate consideration of those innocent individuals who must suffer from retaliation. I am, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient servant,

JAMES GAMBIER.

Among the persons who took their passage from Europe on board D'Estaing's fleet, was Mr. Silas Deane, a gentleman whose abilities, particularly as a negotiator, had been singularly useful to the Americans from the beginning of their contest with Great-Britain; consequence of which he was early nominated to the important office of Coadjutor to Doctor Franklin, in the great business of managing the affairs of Congress with the European powers. Whether in this employment Mr. Deane had not answered expectation, or that a spirit of party which prevades the deliberations of every assembly, had prevailed against him, does not appear, but some dissatisfaction at his conduct was evident, as we find he was recalled in order, as it was said, to lay before Congress an account of his mission.

Mr.

Mr. Deane thought himſelf, ill uſed, and after endeavouring to obtain a public approbation of his conduct from the Congreſs; as his laſt reſource publiſhed a general addreſs to the American people; which as it contains the only authentic account of the negotiations of the American ſtates with the foreign courts the reader is preſented with it entire. 1778.

"To the free and virtuous citizens of America.

Friends and Countrymen,

THE happineſs or misfortunes, the benefits or injuries, of an individual have generally no claim to the public attention. I do not therefore addreſs you on my own account, but yours. I do not wiſh to prejudice any man, but to ſerve my country. I was content, even while ſacrificed for the aggrandizement of others, but I will not ſee an individual, or family, raiſed upon the ruins of the general weal. What I write to you, I would have ſaid to your repreſentatives; their ears have been ſhut againſt me by an attention to matters which my reſpect for them induces me to believe were of more importance. While it was ſafe to be ſilent, my lips were cloſed. Neceſſity hath opened them, and neceſſity muſt excuſe this effort, to ſerve, by informing you.

"What I have done, and what I have ſuffered, from the moment I left my native ſhore, until I was honoured with one colleague, and ſaddled with another, is needleſs now to repeat; I have told it ſubſtantially to Congreſs, and, as their ſervant, I leave it with them. In September, 1776, they appoined the honourable Benjamin Franklin, Arthur Lee, Eſq; and myſelf, their commiſſioners at the court of Verſailles, previous to which I had the honour to be the commerical and political agent of America in Europe. My venerable friend Doctor Franklin, arrived at Paris in December, 1776, and Arthur Lee, Eſq; a few Days after him. This gentleman, by agreement among the commiſſioners, went to Spain in the month of February following, to negotiate your intereſts there; and having by a wanton diſplay of his errand, given great and juſt cauſe of diſtruſt to the court of Madrid, he returned in the beginning of April, not having gone further than the city of Burgos. The reaſons of that court from reſtricting him to this place, with many other matters important for you to know, may perhaps appear in the courſe of theſe letters.

While

1778. "While he was on that journey, Dr. Franklin received a commiſſion to go thither, but his health, the ſeaſon, and other circumſtances prevented his departure, until he was ſuperſeded. Many reaſons concurred to convince the commiſſioners, that Arthur Lee Eſq; could no where be leſs ſerviceable than at Paris, and therefore in May 1777, he ſet out to make a tour of Germany, in order to arrive at Berlin in ſafety. At this place he was ſo unfortunate as to do nothing, unleſs we may give the name of buſineſs to the loſs of his papers, by which a diſcovery was made of the ſecrets of his colleagues, and the Britiſh miniſtry enabled to counteract the meaſures taken for your benefit. In Auguſt he returned to Paris, and ſhortly after received his appointment as commiſſioner to the court of Madrid, with reſervation, nevertheleſs, of his former commiſſion to that of Verſailles. Here I muſt leave him, to take notice of another gentleman of the ſame family.

"In Feb. 1777, I received a notification of the appointment of William Lee, Eſq; to be one of your commercical agents in Europe, of which I gave him notice. As your commercical affairs were at that time in ſuch a ſtate as to require much attention and care, I preſſed this gentleman, then in England, to come over immediately and execute his office, but heard nothing from him till the month of June, when he arrived at Paris. At this place he continued until ſome time in Auguſt, when he went to Nantz; there he was loudly called on to regulate certain affairs, which he prudently declined, leaſt, as he obſerved, his property in England ſhould be affected. In September, or October, he returned to Paris, and there received his appointment of commiſſioner to the courts of Vienna and Berlin. He continued nevertheleſs inactive at Paris until the month of December, carefully concealing his appointments, which might have militated againſt his office of Alderman of the city of London, which he did then and probably does ſtill retain. When the news of Gen. Burgoyne's defeat and ſurrender had arrived, it produced a revolution in the minds of many, and among others inſpired your commercical agent and political commiſſioner, the honourable William Lee, Eſq; with ſome degree of activity in your favour.

"That I may not be under the neceſſity of mentioning this gentleman again, I add here, that he hath ſince gone to Vienna, having firſt appointed ſundry other commercical agents for

for you at the ſeveral ports, and in one inſtance removed the * perſon who had faithfully done your buſineſs for two per cent. in favour of another who is to receive five per cent, of which as well as of the like commiſſion at other places, Mr. Lee receives a ſhare, for ſuperintending at Vienna the buſineſs on your account, a thouſand miles from his place of reſidence. 1778.

"My reſpect for the honourable the Congreſs, and of conſequence for its members, will lead me to treat with all poſſible tenderneſs their friends, dependants, and connections; and therefore as the honourable Arthur and William Lee, Eſqrs. have two brothers in that body. I ſhall make no further obſervations on the fruitful topic of their manners and deportment, than this, that, unfortunately for you, thoſe gentlemen, ſo highly elevated, and ſo widely entruſted, gave univerſal diſguſt to the nation whoſe aſſiſtance we ſolicited.

"Having thus introduced you to your great ſervants, I proceed to make you acquainted with ſome other perſonages, which is it of conſequence for you to know. I am ſorry to ſay that the hon. Arthur Lee, Eſq; was ſuſpected by ſome of the beſt friends you had abroad, and thoſe in important characters and ſtations. This aroſe from his connection and acquaintance with Lord Shelburne, who had been his patron in England, and to whom it was from many circumſtances, ſuppoſed he diſcloſed your ſecrets. Theſe ſuſpicions, whether well or ill founded, were frequently related and urged to Dr. Franklin and myſelf; and joined to his undiſguiſed hatred of, and expreſſions of contempt for the French nation in general, embarraſſed us exceedingly.

"In the ſummer of 1777, a correſpondence took place between a certain Dr. Berkenhout, and the hon. Arthur Lee, Eſq; on political ſubjects. The doctor propoſed, in general terms, an accommodation: and after all obſtacles ariſing from our ſuppoſed want of confidence in him, and the like, were removed, the doctor went ſo far as to propoſe

* Mr. Williams a native of Boſton, a gentleman greatly eſteemed in France for his knowledge and ingenuity in mercantile tranſactions, as well as for his engaging manners, who being well acquainted with the language and commercical rules and cuſtoms in that kingdom, had rendered very important ſervices to his country, in his department.

1778. poſe a meeting with Mr. Lee; but theſe diſpoſitions were deranged by the news of Gen. Howe's arrival in this city. Mr. Lee ſhewed to to Dr. Franklin and myſelf a part of this correſpondence, and, in order to give the greater weight to Dr. Berkenhout's remarks, gave us to underſtand, that the doctor was in the confidence of the Britiſh miniſtry.

"Immediately on the arrival of the news of general Burgoyne's ſurrender, a treaty with France ſeemed to the Britiſh miniſtry more near and more probable; your commiſſioners, therefore were continually ſounded, indirectly, as to their diſpoſitions for reconciliation. About this time Mr. Lee's ſecretary went to and from London, charged with affairs, which were ſecret to your other commiſſioners. Conjectures were formed, it is true, and with the more reaſon, as Mr. Lee was dragged into the treaty with the utmoſt reluctance. It was agreed that this important matter ſhould be kept a profound ſecret, yet a few days from the ſigning, it was pointedly declared in the houſe of commons, by hon. Charles Fox, Eſq; the friend of lord Shelburne. This gave additional weight to other circumſtances. Add to this, that the attention of Dr. Franklin and myſelf to your ſervice, gave riſe to many bickerings and diſputes betweed Mr. Lee and us; the conſequence was, that inſinuations and miſrepreſentations, to my diſadvantage were tranſmitted acroſs the Atlantic, and ſtored up for purpoſes which will hereafter appear. On the fourth of March I received in a cover, from one of the committee of foreign correſpondence, the following reſolution:

In Congreſs, Dec. 8, 1777.

"Whereas it is of the greateſt importance that the Congreſs ſhould at this critical juncture be well informed of the ſtate of affairs in Europe. And whereas Congreſs have reſolved that the hon. Silas Deane, Eſq; be recalled from the court of France, and have appointed another commiſſioner to ſupply his place there. Ordered, that the committee for foreign correſpondence write to the hon. Silas Deane, and direct him to embrace the firſt opportunity of returning to America, and upon his arrival to repair with all poſſible diſpatch to Congreſs."

"And having placed my Papers and yours in ſafety, I left Paris the 30th, to embark for my native country, on board that fleet which your great and generous ally ſent out for your aſſiſtance, in full confidence that I ſhould not be detained

tained for any conſiderable time in America on the buſineſs I was ſent for;—juſt before my departure I was informed of a matter, which, as it may tend to throw light on other circumſtances, I ſhall ſimply relate. A gentleman of character told me, that his correſpondent in England had ſeen a letter from the hon. Arthur Lee, Eſq; dated the very day on which the treaty was ſigned, (though it was not finiſhed until near nine o'clock at night) in which were nearly theſe words: "This day the new partnerſhip was ſigned and ſealed, and the new houſe will begin to do buſineſs immediately; if the old houſe means to have any thing to do further, and means honeſtly, they muſt make their propoſals immediately." 1778.

"When I arrived at this place, I ſolicited an audience of the Congreſs, which after many delays, which ſome circumſtances rendered unavoidable, I obtained. I was twice heard before that honourable body, viz. on the 19th and on the 21ſt of Auguſt, when I gave them as good a general account of the matters entruſted to me, as the time would permit. It being my intent to deliver ſingly, and by itſelf, a hiſtory of thoſe affairs, and then to mention, from time to time, for their conſideration, ſuch things as my duty to you ſhould require. But after theſe two audiences I have been unable to obtain a third, although I have continually ſolicited it, and written ſeveral letters for that purpoſe, which together with the anſwers I have received, and the ſeveral intermediate tranſactions, as far as the public ſervice requires it, ſhall in due time with the utmoſt candour on my part be laid before you; without deviating in the leaſt from that reſpect, which I have always profeſſed, and which I feel for that honourable body; and leaſt any thing which I have ſaid, or may ſay, ſhould be miſrepreſented, I do hereby again repeat my veneration for your repreſentatives, excepting always thoſe (if any ſuch there be) who with partial intereſted views and for ſiniſter purpoſes, have endeavoured to ſacrifice your intereſt, as well as my reputation. I now come to ſome things, without which I might perhaps have continued ſtill longer ſilent. In September laſt I was informed, that the doctor Berkenhout, whom I have mentioned above, was in jail in this city. I confeſs I was ſurprized, conſidering what I have already related, that this man ſhould have the audacity to appear in the capital of America. I immediately ſat myſelf about the meaſures, which I conceived neceſſary to inveſtigate his plans and deſigns

1778. ſigns; concluding he was like to continue in thoſe quarters for ſome time. But what was my aſtoniſhment, when in a few days afterwards I was informed he was gone back to New York. There was in this ſomething that was alarming, that a perſon who from every appearance was ſent out as a ſpy, ſhould be ſent back with the knowledge he was able to collect, was, what I could not comprehend; and therefore in order to ſet on foot an enquiry, I publiſhed the queries in Mr. Dunlap's paper of the 10th of October, which had lain by me ſome days in hopes that thoſe in authority would have taken meaſures to prevent the neceſſity of it.

To theſe queries no ſatisfactory anſwer ever was, or probably ever will be given. At length that providence, in whom we put our truſt, hath by a concurrence of incidents, unfolded the tranſaction, which was as follows;—— Doctor Berkenhout came from New-York, paſſed the lines, and came to this place, under the pretence of important buſineſs with Congreſs; when he arrived in this place he made no application to that body, but to the hon. Richard Henry Lee Eſq. Doctor Berkenhout hath ſince ſaid, that he had letters to that honourable member of the Congreſs, from the hon. Arthur Lee, Eſq; joint commiſſioner of the United States, at the court of Verſailles, and ſole commiſſioner of thoſe ſtates at the court of Madrid. Be this as it may, it is certain that the doctor had ſeveral meetings with the hon. Richard Lee, Eſq; it is alſo certain that when the doctor returned to New York, he ventured to aſſure the Britiſh commiſſioners, that by the alliance with France, America was at liberty to make peace without conſulting her ally, unleſs England declared war; and it is equally certain, that the hon. Richard H. Lee, Eſq; conſtantly and pertinaciouſly maintained this doctrine.

After the doctor had been ſome days in this town he became ſuſpected by the honourable executive council of this ſtate, who determined to apprehend him. When this matter was mentioned to the honourable Richard H. Lee, Eſq; he declared the ſuſpicions againſt him were baſe and groundleſs, and that he was a good friend to America; he was nevertheleſs put into jail, and there notwithſtanding the precautions ſuppoſed to have been taken. He did ſee ſundry perſons. He was permitted afterwards by the executive council to return to New York. I have been told that even when he was diſmiſſed, ſome gentlemen of that board were

were of opinion that he was (as in fact he was) an emiſſary from the Britiſh miniſtry. When the doctor returned, he carried letters with him, among others one for governor Johnſtone. He declared he had got what he wanted by his journey. He adviſed the ſending other emiſſaries throughout theſe ſtates, to diſcover the deſigns and diſpoſitions of the people, and the like.—Governor Johnſtone, on the doctor's complaining that this meaſure had not before been adopted, promiſed that he would urge it to the Britiſh miniſtry. He adviſed that lieut. col. Conolly ſhould be by all means ſent to the aſſiſtance of colonel Butler, and that they ſhould call in all their priſoners, who were out on parole, which they have actually ſince done. 1778.

It may not be amiſs to give you the following ſhort account. The doctor on his return to New York fell in company with a perſon going into the city on private buſineſs; he miſtook this perſon for a friend of government (as certain perſons call themſelves) and after landing at Staten Iſland, ſpoke his mind freely on the above ſubjects. This perſon afterwards lodged in the ſame houſe with the doctor, and heard his converſation with governor Johnſtone. Particular circumſtances forbid me mentioning the name of this perſon at preſent; it is ſufficient that the information was voluntarily given, and before ſeveral perſons of the firſt rank and character in the city. Now then, my countrymen, let me ſtate in ſhort my reaſons for giving you thoſe facts. I have thought ever ſince the violence and deſpotiſm of Great Britain firſt drove the diſpute to the iſſue of arms, that our alliance with France was for your real intereſt and happineſs.

I was as far as in me lay, a willful inſtrument to promote it; I now ſee, what I have for ſome time ſuſpected, a deſign to lead you into a breach of your national faith and honour, ſolemnly pledged, and thereby moſt probably to the eventual loſs of that liberty, which you have purchaſed at ſo great an expence of blood and treaſure. I ſee alſo a deſign to lay waſte your frontiers, by a moſt cruel and barbarous war, and at the ſame time to fix in the different capitals, emiſſaries to betray your ſecrets, and by every other means, which either a caſual, or deſigned inattention to them, may put in their power to aid and bring about thoſe deſigns, I think it therefore my duty to put you on your guard.

1778. When I mention that the hon. Arthur Lee, Eſq; your commiſſioner at the court of Madrid, and one of your commiſſioners at Verſailles, and the hon. Wm. Lee, Eſq; your commiſſioner at the court of Vienna, and your commiſſioner at the court of Berlin (which courts are now actually at war with each other) and alſo that he is your commercial agent in Europe, and that they have two brothers in Congreſs, I do not ſpeak from any pique againſt them; for although they are my perſonal and lately avowed enemies, yet their conduct on many occaſions hath been ſuch, that to honour them with the emotions of anger, would be degrading to that character, which I hope always to maintain. My objection is, merely to reſcue your reputation. Foreigners are perhaps not ſo clear-ſighted as they ought to be, and therefore cannot diſcern in thoſe your commiſſioners, that degree of merit which hath led your repreſentatives to confer on them ſuch various and incompatible offices. And being equally ignorant of the wiſe and equitable manner in which your buſineſs is conducted, they raſhly conclude, that appointments, of which they cannot diſcern the propriety, are to contribute to the influence of intrigue and cabal. I have alſo a farther view in writing this letter, it is to put thoſe gentlemen who in ſome inſtances have carried not only their ſuſpicions, but their aſperſions againſt ſome of our firmeſt friends very far, upon their guard againſt thoſe obligations and attachments which may ruin your affairs, and to be particularly careful whom they recommend and how. And would warn them from paſt experience againſt future danger, and intreat them not too haſtily and raſhly to impart our ſecrets to improper perſons, particularly as Great Britain has not as yet acknowledged your independence, and offered a treaty, the cultivation of any intereſt at that court cannot compenſate the ſacrifices which muſt be made to acquire it. Laſtly, my countrymen, whilſt I reverence your unſuſpecting confidence, I would inculcate on your minds the artifices of your foes and lead you to beware, and on your guard.

I am your friend and countryman, and I can ſay with pride your faithful ſervant,

Philadelphia, Nov. 1778 S. DEAN.

Beſides Mr. Deane there arrived at Philadelphia a Monſieur Gerard who immediately on his landing, aſſumed the public character of Ambaſſador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary

tentiary from his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty to the Congreſs of the American States; in conſequence of which, after making his public entry and delivering his credentials in form, a Committee was appointed to ſettle the ratification of the treaties entered into with his maſter; one of theſe treaties has been publiſhed and is as follows: 1778.

TREATY of ALLIANCE, eventual and defenſive, between his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, LOUIS the Sixteenth, king of FRANCE and NAVARRE, and the THIRTEEN UNITED STATES of AMERICA, concluded at Paris, the 6th of February, 1778.

LOUIS,

By the Grace of GOD, King of FRANCE and NAVARRE.

To ALL who ſhall ſee theſe preſents, GREETING.

THE CONGRESS of the Thirteen United States of North America having, by their plenipotentiaries reſiding at Paris, notified to us their deſire to eſtabliſh with us a good underſtanding and perfect correſpondence, and having for that purpoſe propoſed to conclude with us, a treaty of amity and commerce: We having thought it our duty to give to the ſaid States a ſenſible proof of our affection, determining us to accept their propoſals: for theſe cauſes and other good conſiderations, us thereunto moving, we, repoſing entire confidence in the abilities and experience, zeal and fidelity for our ſervice, of our dear and beloved Conrad Alexander Gerard, royal ſyndic of the city of Straſbourg, and ſecretary of our council of ſtate, have nominated, appointed, and commiſſioned, and by theſe preſents ſigned with our hand, do nominate, appoint, and commiſſion him our plenipotentiary, giving him power and ſpecial command for us, and in our name, to agree upon, conclude, and ſign, with the plenipotentiaries of the United States, equally furniſhed in due form, with full powers, ſuch treaty, convention, and articles of commerce and navigation, as he ſhall think proper; willing that he act with the ſame authority as we might or could act, if we were perſonally preſent, and even as though he had more ſpecial command than what is herein contained; promiſing in good faith, and on the word of a king, to agree to, confirm, and eſtabliſh for ever, and to accompliſh, and execute punctually, all that our ſaid dear and beloved Conrad Alex-

1778. ander Gerard ſhall ſtipulate and ſign, by virtue of the preſent power, without contravening it in any manner, or ſuffering it to be contravened for any cauſe or under any pretext whatſoever; and alſo to ratify the ſame in due form, and cauſe our ratification to be delivered and exchanged in the time that ſhall be agreed on. For ſuch is our pleaſure. In teſtimony whereof we have hereunto ſet our ſeal. Done at Verſailles, this thirteenth Day of January, in the year of our Lord one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-eight, and the fourth year of our reign.

(Signed)

(L. S.) LOUIS.

(Underneath) By the KING

GRAVIER de VERGENNES.

TREATY OF ALLIANCE.

The Moſt Chriſtian King, and the United States of North America, to wit, New-Hampſhire, Maſſachuſetts-bay, Rhode-Iſland, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jerſey, Pennſylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia, having this day concluded a treaty of amity and commerce, for the reciprocal advantage of their ſubjects and citizens, have thought it neceſſary to take into conſideration the means of ſtrengthening thoſe engagements and of rendering them uſeful to the ſafety and tranquillity of the two parties; particularly in caſe Great Britain, in reſentment of that connection, and of the good correſpondence which is the object of the ſaid treaty, ſhould break the peace with France, either by direct oppoſition, or by hindering her commerce and navigation, in a manner contrary to the rights of nations, and the peace ſubſiſting between the two crowns.——And his majeſty and the ſaid United States having reſolved in that caſe to join their councils and efforts againſt the enterprizes of their common enemy——

The reſpective plenipotentiaries impowered to concert the clauſes and conditions proper to fulfil the ſaid intentions, have, after the moſt mature deliberation, concluded and determined on the following articles:

Article 1. If war ſhould break out between France and Great Britain, during the continuance of the preſent war between the United States and England, his majeſty and the ſaid United States ſhall make it a common cauſe, and aid

aid each other mutually with their good offices, their coun- 1778.
ſels, and their forces, according to the exigency of con-
junctures, as becomes good and faithful allies.

Art. 2. The eſſential and direct end of the preſent defenſive alliance is, to maintain effectually the liberty, ſovereignty, and independence, abſolute and unlimited, of the ſaid United States, as well in matters of government as of commerce.

Art. 3. The two contracting parties ſhall, each on its own part, and in the manner it may judge moſt proper, make all the efforts in his power againſt their common enemy, in order to attain the end propoſed.

Art. 4. The contracting parties agree, that in caſe either of them ſhould form any particular enterprize, in which the concurrence of the other may be deſired, the party whoſe concurrence is deſired ſhall readily, and with good faith, join to act in concert for that purpoſe, as far as circumſtances and his own particular ſituation will permit; and in that caſe they ſhall regulate, by a particular convention, the quantity and kind of ſuccour to be furniſhed and the time and manner of its being brought into action, as well as the advantages which are to be its compenſation.

Art. 5. If the United States ſhould think fit to attempt the reduction of the Britiſh power, remaining in the northern parts of America, or the iſlands of Bermudas, thoſe countries or iſlands, in caſe of ſucceſs, ſhall be confederated with and dependent upon the ſaid United States.

Art. 6. The moſt Chriſtian King renounces for ever the poſſeſſion of the iſlands of Bermudas, as well as any part of the continent of North America, which before the treaty of Paris, in 1763, or in virtue of that treaty, were acknowledged to belong to the crown of Great Britain, or to the United States, heretofore called Britiſh Colonies, or which are at this time, or have lately been under the power of the King and crown of Great Britain.

Art. 7. If his moſt chriſtian Majeſty ſhall think proper to attack any of the iſlands ſituate in the Gulph of Mexico, or near the Gulph, which are at preſent under the power of Great Britain, all the ſaid iſles in caſe of ſucceſs, ſhall appertain to the crown of France.

Art. 8. Neither of the two parties ſhall conclude either truce or peace with Great Britain, without the formal conſent of the other firſt obtained; and they mutually engage not to lay down their arms, until the independence of the

1778. United States ſhall have been formally or tacitly aſſured by the treaty or treaties that ſhall determine the war.

Art. 9. The contracting parties declare, that, being reſolved to fulfil, each on its own part, the clauſes and conditions of the preſent treaty of alliance, according to its own power and circumſtances, there ſhall be no after claims of compenſation on one ſide or other, whatever may be the event of the war.

Art. 10. The moſt Chriſtian King and the United States agree, to invite or admit other powers, who may have received injuries from England, to make a common cauſe with them, and accede to the preſent alliance, under ſuch conditions as ſhall be freely agreed to, and ſettled between all the parties.

Art. 11. The two parties guarantee mutually from the preſent time, and for ever, againſt all other powers, to wit —The United ſtates to his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty the preſent poſſeſſions of the crown of France in America, as well as thoſe which it may acquire by the future treaty of peace; and his moſt chriſtian Majeſty guarantees on his part to the United States, their liberty, ſovereignty, and independence, abſolute and unlimited, as well in matters of government as commerce, and alſo their poſſeſſions, and the additions or conqueſts that their confederation may obtain during the war, from any of the dominions now or heretofore poſſeſſed by Great Britain in North America; conformable to the fifth and ſixth articles above written, the whole as their poſſeſſion ſhall be fixed and aſſured to the ſaid States, at the moment of the ceſſation of their preſent war with England.

Art. 12. In order to fix more preciſely the ſenſe and application of the preceding article, the contracting parties declare, that in caſe of a rupture between France and England the reciprocal guarantee declared in the ſaid article ſhall have its full force and effect the moment ſuch war ſhall break out; and if ſuch rupture ſhall not take place, the mutual obligations of the guarantees ſhall not commence until the moment of the ceſſation of the preſent war between the United States and England, ſhall have aſcertained their poſſeſſions.

Art. 13. The preſent treaty ſhall be ratified on both ſides, and the ratifications ſhall be exchanged, in the ſpace of ſix months, or ſooner if poſſible.

IN

IN FAITH WHEREOF the reſpective plenipotentiaries, to wit, on the part of the Moſt Chriſtian King, Conrad Alexander Gerard, Royal Syndic of the city of Straſbourg, and ſecretary of his majeſty's council of ſtate. And on the part of the United States, Benjamin Franklin, deputy of the General Congreſs, from the State of Pennſylvania, and preſident of the convention of the ſaid State; Silas Dean, hitherto deputy from the State of Connecticut, and Arthur Lee, counſellor at law, have ſigned the above articles both in the French and Engliſh languages; declaring nevertheleſs, that the preſent treaty was originally compoſed and concluded in the French language, and they have hereunto affixed their ſeals. 1778.

DONE at Paris the ſixth day of February, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-eight.

(L. S.) C. A. GERARD,
(L. S.) B. FRANKLIN,
(L. S.) SILAS DEAN,
(L. S.) ARTHUR LEE.

On the 10th of December commodore Hotham's fleet arrived at Barbadoes, where they were joined by a ſmall ſquadron under the command of Admiral Barrington. At this iſland they ſtaid only two days, and proceeded to execute one of the intents of their expedition, which was, a deſcent on the iſland of Sainte Lucie, where by favour of the monſoon they arrived the day following and immediately landed the troops near the Carenage, while the fleet came to anchor in the grand Cul de Sac. General Grant who commanded the land forces made the beſt diſpoſition, and having poſſeſſed himſelf of the Carenage, inveſted the principal fort. While theſe operations were going forward, D'Eſtaing with a corps of 5000 land forces on board ſailed from Martinique, at which place he had arrived from Boſton, on an expedition againſt the Britiſh iſlands of St Vincents and Grenada, but he was ſcarcely under way when poſitive intelligence was brought him, that Sainte Lucie was attacked. A place of ſuch importance from its proximity to Martinique was not to be loſt without making every attempt for its deliverance; there was reaſon to expect Byron would ſoon arrive in theſe ſeas; a coup de main was therefore a meaſure of neceſſity, which if it ſucceeded muſt inevitably be a deciſive ſtroke againſt the Engliſh, as from

1778. the deſtruction of their army and fleet at Sainte Lucie, all their Weſt India poſſeſſions if not taken by the French, muſt be reduced to ſuch diſtreſs that its effects would be felt for many years. Thither they ſteered, and ſuddenly appeared off the grand Cul de Sac where the Britiſh fleet lay. They did not find the Engliſh unprepared, Barrington's fleet was diſpoſed ſo as to defend the entrance of the harbour againſt any number that might attack it, beſide which, the General had erected ſeveral batteries on ſhore. Two attempts were made by the French to force into the harbour, but Engliſh courage and conduct prevailed; the French were beat off with great loſs: an attempt by land was all that now remained, but it was not more fortunate: The army deſtined for the conqueſt of the Britiſh iſlands was landed, conſiſting of 5000 infantry and commanded by the Count D'Eſtaing and the Marquis de Bouille; they advanced rapidly towards the Engliſh intrenchments, with all that confidence which ſuperiority of number gives, their number being twice that of the Engliſh, but they had not the light holiday troops of a ſouthern clime to deal with, it was an iron band of veterans, who inured to toil, joining their native courage to the hardening ſervice of northern campaigns, were not to be ſubdued. The French advanced to the trenches in two diviſions, the right led by D'Eſtaing and the left by Bouille, they advanced amidſt their fire, but their fire was not returned until they mounted the trenches, then, a diſcharge from the firſt line of the Engliſh ſtop'd them for a moment, and before they could recover they were charged by the Britiſh bayonets; the ſlaughter was dreadful, they fell upon their rere in confuſion, the Engliſh marched out and attacked in turn; and the victory was complete. The French generals with the ſhattered remains of their army with difficulty reached their ſhips, which ſoon after ſailed off with them, and while they were yet in view the French governor deſpairing of any further ſuccour, ſurrendered the iſland to his Britannic Majeſty. The loſs on the ſide of the Britiſh was inconſiderable, not exceeding two hundred killed and wounded, whereas that of the enemy exceeded one thouſand.

In the mean time, two other expeditions were ſet on foot, one from New York with a body of troops under the command of lieutenant colonel Campbell, and another from St Auguſtine in Florida under the command of major general Prevoſt, to act in conjunction for the reduction of the province

vince of Georgia. As thoſe expeditions are more immediately a part of this hiſtory, we cannot be too minute in the narrative; we ſhall therefore give it in the words of the ſeveral commanders, taken from their letters to lord George Germain, ſecretary for the American department, and Mr. Stephens ſecretary to the admiralty. 1778.

Copy of a letter from lieutenant-colonel Campbell, to lord George Germain,

MY LORD,

IN conſequence of Sir H. Clinton's orders to proceed to Georgia, with his majeſty's 71ſt regiment of foot, 2 battalions of Heſſians, 4 battalions of Provincials, and a detachment of the royal artillery, I have the honour to acquaint your lordſhip of our having ſailed from the Hook on the 27th of November, 1778, eſcorted by a ſquadron of his majeſty's ſhips of war, under the command of commodore Parker, and of the arrival of the whole fleet off the iſland of Tybee, on the 23d of December thereafter, two horſe ſloops excepted.

On the 24th the commodore, with the greateſt part of the tranſports, got over the bar, and anchored in the Savannah river, within the light houſe of Tybee; on the 27th the reſt of the fleet joined him.

During the time occupied in bringing the laſt diviſion of the fleet over the Bar, I formed from the Provincial battalions two corps of light infantry, the one to be attached to Sir James Baird's light company of the 71ſt Highlanders, the other to capt. Cameron's company of the ſame regiment.

Having no intelligence that could be depended upon, with reſpect to the military force of Georgia, or the diſpoſition formed for its defence, Sir James Baird's Highland company of light infantry, in two flat boats, with lieut. Clark of the navy, was diſpatched in the night of the 25th, to ſeize any of the inhabitants they might find on the banks of Wilmington Creek. Two men were procured by this means, by whom we learnt the moſt ſatisfactory intelligence concerning the ſtate of matters at Savannah, and which ſettled the commodore and I in the reſolution of landing the troops the next evening, at the plantation of one Gerridoe, an important poſt, twelve miles farther up the river than the

1778. the light-houſe of Tybee, and two miles ſhort, in a direct line, from the town of Savannah, although the diſtance was not leſs than three along the road, This poſt was the firſt practicable landing place on the Savannah river, the whole country between it and Tybee being a continued tract of deep marſh, interſected by the Creeks of St. Auguſtine and Tybee, of conſiderable extent, and other cuts of water impaſſable for troops at any time of the tide.

The Vigilant man of war, with the Comet galley, the Keppel armed brig, and the Greenwich armed ſloop, followed by the tranſports in three diviſions, in the order eſtabliſhed for a deſcent, proceeded up the river with the tide at noon; about four o'clock in the evening the Vigilant opened the Reach to Gerridoe's plantation, and was cannonaded by two rebel gallies, who retired before any of their bullets had reached her; a ſingle ſhot from the Vigilant quickened their retreat.

The tide and evening being too far ſpent, and many of the tranſports having grounded at the diſtance of five or ſix miles below Gerridoe's plantation, the deſcent was indiſpenſably delayed till next morning. The firſt diviſion of the troops, conſiſting of all the light infantry of the army, the New York volunteers, and 1ſt battalion of the 71ſt, under the command of lieut. col. Maitland, were landed at break of day on the river-dam in front of Gerridoe's plantation, from whence a narrow cauſeway, of 600 yards in length, with a ditch on each ſide, led through a rice ſwamp directly for Gerridoe's houſe, which ſtood upon a bluff of 30 feet in height, above the level of the rice ſwamps.

The light infantry under capt. Cameron, having firſt reached the ſhore, were formed and led briſkly forward to the bluff, where a body of 50 rebels were poſted, and from whom they received a ſmart fire of muſquetry; but the Highlanders, ruſhing on with their uſual impetuoſity, gave them no time to repeat it: They drove them inſtantly to the woods, and happily ſecured a landing for the reſt of the army. Capt. Cameron, a ſpirited and moſt valuable officer, with two Highlanders, were killed on this occaſion, and five Highlanders wounded.

Upon reconnoitring the environs of Gerridoe's plantation, I diſcovered the rebel army, under major general Robert Howe, drawn up about a mile eaſt of the town of Savannah, with ſeveral pieces of cannon in their front. The 1ſt

divi-

diviſion of troops, together with one company of the 2d battalion of the 71ſt, the 1ſt battalion of Delancy's, the Wellworth, and part of Wiſſemback's regiment of Heſſians, being landed, I thought it expedient, having the day before me, to go in queſt of the enemy, rather than give them an opportunity of retiring unmoleſted. 1778.

A company of the 2d battalion of the 71ſt, together with the 1ſt battalion of Delancy's, were accordingly left to cover the landing-place, and the troops marched in the following order for the town of Savannah.

The light infantry, throwing off their packs, formed the advance, the New York volunteers followed to ſupport the light infantry, the 1ſt battalion of the 71ſt with two ſix pounders followed the New York volunteers, and the Wellworth battalion of Heſſians, with two three pounders, followed the 71ſt, part of Wiſſenbach battalion of Heſſians cloſed the rear. On the troops having entered the great road leading to the town of Savannah, the diviſion of Wiſſenbach's regiment was poſted on the croſs roads to ſecure the rear of the army; a thick impenetrable wooded ſwamp covered the left of the line of march; and the light infantry, with the flankers of each corps, effectually ſcoured the cultivated plantations on the right.

The troops reached the open country near Tatnal's plantation before three o'clock in the evening; and halted in the great road about 200 paces ſhort of the gate leading to governor Wright's plantation, the light infantry excepted, who were ordered to form immediately upon our right of the road, along the rails leading to governor Wright's plantation.

The enemy were drawn up acroſs the road, at the diſtance of 800 yards from this gateway; one half, conſiſting of Thompſon's and Eugee's regiments of Carolina troops, were formed under colonel Eugee, with their left obliquely to the great road leading to Savannah, their right to a wooded ſwamp, covered by the houſes of Tatnal's plantation, in which they had placed ſome Riflemen; the other half of their regular troops, conſiſting of part of the 1ſt, 2d, 3d, and 4th battalions of the Georgia brigade, was formed under colonel Elbert, with their right to the road, and their left to the rice ſwamps of governor Wright's plantation, with the fort of Savannah Bluff behind their left wing, in the ſtile of ſecond flank; the town of Savannah, round which

1778. which they had the remains of an old line of intrenchments, covered their rear. One piece of cannon was planted on the right of their line, one upon the left, and two pieces occupied the traverſe, acroſs the great road, in the center of their line. About 100 paces in front of this traverſe, at a critical ſpot between two ſwamps, a trench was cut acroſs the road, and about 100 Yards in front of this trench, a marſhy rivulet run almoſt parallel the whole extent of their front; the bridge of which was burned down, to interrupt the paſſage, and retard our progreſs.

I could diſcover from the movements of the enemy, that they wiſhed and expected an attack upon their left, and I was deſirous of cheriſhing that opinion.

Having accidentally fallen in with a negroe, who knew a private path through the wooded ſwamp, upon the enemy's right, I ordered the 1ſt battalion of the 71ſt to form on our right of the road, and move up to the rear of the light infantry, whilſt I drew off that corps to the right, as if I meant to extend my front to that quarter, where a happy fall of ground favoured the concealment of this manœuvre, and increaſed the jealouſy of the enemy with regard to their left. Sir James Baird had directions to convey the light infantry, in this hollow ground, quite to the rear, and penetrate the wooded ſwamp upon our left, with a view to get round by the new barracks into the rear of the enemy's right flank. The New York volunteers under colonel Tumbull was ordered to ſupport him.

During the courſe of this movement our artillery were formed in a field on the left of the road, concealed from the enemy by a ſwell of Ground in front, to which I meant to run them up for action, when the ſignal was made to engage, and from whence I could either bear advantageouſly upon the right of the rebel line, as it was then formed, or cannonade any body of troops in flank which they might detach into the wood to retard the progreſs of the light infantry.

The regiment of Willworth was formed upon the left of the artillery, and the enemy continued to amuſe themſelves with their cannon, without any return upon our part, till it was viſible that Sir James Baird and the light infantry had fairly got round upon their rere. On this occaſion I commanded the line to move briſkly forward. The well-directed artillery of the line, the rapid advance of the 71ſt regiment, and the forward countenance of the

the Heſſian regiment of Willworth, inſtantly diſperſed the enemy. 1778.

A body of militia of Georgia that paſſed at the new barracks with ſome pieces of cannon to cover the road from Great Ogeeche, were at this juncture routed, with the loſs of their artillery, by the light infantry under Sir James Baird, when the ſcattered troops of the Carolina and Georgia brigades run acroſs the plain in his front. This officer with his uſual gallantry, daſhed the light infantry on their flank, and terminated the fate of the day with brilliant ſucceſs.

Thirty eight officers of different diſtinctions, and 415 non-commiſſioned officers and privates, one ſtand of colours, 48 pieces of cannon, 23 mortars, 94 barrels of powder, the fort with all its ſtores agreeable to the incloſed return, and in ſhort the capital of Georgia, the ſhipping in the harbour, with a large quantity of proviſions, fell into our poſſeſſion before it was dark, without any other loſs on our ſide than that of captain Peter Campbell, a gallant officer of Skinner's light infantry, and two privates killed; one ſergeant, and 9 privates, wounded: 83 of the enemy found dead on the common, and 11 wounded. By the accounts received from their priſoners, 30 loſt their lives in the ſwamp, endeavouring to make their eſcape.

I have the pleaſure to inform your lordſhip, although the rebels retreated through the town of Savannah, and many inhabitants were in the ſtreets, none ſuffered in the purſuit but ſuch as had arms in their hands, and were in actual reſiſtance.

Every poſſible care was taken of the houſes in town, and the whole was ſecured from being ſet on fire by the enemy, who, as I was informed, had it once in ſerious contemplation: The rebels had however removed moſt of their effects out of town; and except what their negroes might have practiſed during the courſe of the night, little or no depredation took place, and that even leſs than had ever happened to a town under circumſtances of a ſimilar nature.

Without a ſingle horſe to drag our artillery, or waggon to carry forward a ſufficient quantity of proviſions, your lordſhip might well conceive our difficulties in proceeding up the country as ſoon as could be wiſhed; however by the indefatigable exertions of Major Fraſer, our acting deputy quarter-maſter-general, the zeal and forward diſpoſitions of the whole of the officers of the army for continuing the

1778. the purſuit; I was not only enabled to march to Cherokee-Hill on the evening of the 1ſt of January, but alſo to take poſſeſſion of the town of Ebenezer on the 2d after ſecuring all the intermediate poſts between Savannah and it.

Twenty horſes for dragoons, together with ſeven hundred head of cattle, were collected on the march; and on the 3d of January, the laſt ſcattered remains of general Howe's army retreated acroſs to the two Siſters.

After eſtabliſhing poſt at this ferry, I proceeded with the light infantry and cavalry to Mount Pleaſant; and theſe corps have been conſtantly on the move, even fifty miles above the town of Savannah, without a ſingle Rebel to oppoſe them.

Many reſpectable inhabitants joined the army on this occaſion, with their rifles and horſes, who are formed into a corps of rifle dragoons, for the purpoſe of patroling the country between our advanced poſts, and for aſcertaining the earlieſt intelligence of the enemy's movements. A body of militia were alſo formed at Ebenezer, to patrole in the ſame manner, to the right and left of that quarter, by which means the country is effectually ſecured from depradations.

Having cleared this province of the rebel army, except two hundred men left in garriſon at Sunbury fort, a number too inſignificant to merit an early attention, and who, from a rapid movement of the Britiſh troops along the banks of the Savannah river, muſt have their communication with South Carolina cut off, and of courſe fall at diſcretion, commodore Parker and I think this period the beſt to iſſue a proclamation and oath to the inhabitants at large, founded on the inſtructions I received from his majeſty's commiſſioners at New York; and this we did from a perſuaſion, that it would have the moſt ſalutary effects upon the inhabitants, after beating the united force of Carolina and Georgia out of their conntry.

The immediate conſequences juſtified this perſuaſion; and I have now the honour to acquaint your lordſhip, that the inhabitants from all parts of the province flock with their arms to the ſtandard, and cordially embrace the terms which have been offered.

To eſtabliſh the public ſecurity, and check every attempt to diſturb the peace of individuals, I iſſued another proclamation, ſetting forth a reward of ten guineas for every com-

committee and aſſembly man taken within the limits of Georgia; and two guineas for every lurking villain, who might be ſent from Carolina to moleſt the inhabitants. A late fruitleſs attempt of a rebel party, ſent acroſs the Savannah to plunder the inhabitants on this ſide of the water, has inſpired our rifle dragoons with double alacrity, and has pointed out the propriety and happy conſequences reſulting from their being ready to oppoſe every banditti of this kind. 1778

All the rebel cattle within reach of our poſts, have been ordered for ſlaughter, and to be ſalted up for the uſe of the the navy and army. We have alſo given ſuch encouragement to the farmers to bring in their Bullocks, hogs, ſheep, poultry, &c. as cannot fail of eſtabliſhing a good and reaſonable markets at each of our poſts.

I am now preparing to march with all the light troops and a battalion of the 71ſt to Auguſta, with a view to ſecure that important poſt.

I have the honour to be, &c.
Arch. Campbell, Lt. Col. 71ſt Reg.

Return of iron and braſs ordnance, &c. taken at Savannah in Georgia.

94 barrels of powder. Iron ordnance 36, braſs ditto 9: mortars and howitzers 23, ſhot 1759, ſhells, 249, muſkets 637, ſmall arms, 180, &c. &c.

R Wilſon, Lieut. commandant of the artillery.

Total of the killed, wounded, and miſſing of the detachment of his majeſty's forces under the command of lieut. col Campbell, in the action of the 29th of Dec. 1778.

Two captains, 5 rank and file killed; one ſubaltern, 1 drummer, 17 rank and file wounded.

Names and rank of officers killed and wounded.

Capt. Cha. Cameron, 1ſt battalion, 71ſt regiment, and Capt. Campbell, 3d battalion Skinner's, killed; lieut. French, Delancy's, wounded.

Arch. Campbell, Lieut. Col. 71ſt reg.

Total of priſoners of war taken in action, the 29th of Dec. 1778, by his majeſty's forces under the command of lieut. col. Archibald Campbell, of the 71ſt regiment.

One

1778. One colonel, 3 majors, 11 captains, 15 lieutenants, 1 chaplain, 1 quarter-maſter, 2 ſurgeons, 1 mate, a commiſſary, 1 muſter-maſter, 33 ſergeants, 7 drummers, 6 fifes, 370 rank and file.

Arch. Campbell, lieut. col. 71ſt reg.

Extract of a letter from major general Prevoſt to lord George Germain,

I think it my duty to acquaint your lordſhip that, purſuant to general Sir Heny Clinton's orders of the 20th October, received November 27th following, I collected all the troops of every kind, which could be poſſibly ſpared from the neceſſary number for the defence of the fort and garriſon of St. Auguſtine.

Permit me, my lord, to mention to the praiſe of the troops now with me, the unexampled diſtreſs under which they have laboured for a number of weeks for want of proviſions, their ſpirited excurſions, at a very great diſtance, in a country extremely difficult of acceſs, and the chearfulneſs with with which for many days together, under the moſt ſevere fatigues, they lived only on oyſters; all reſources of every kind being exhauſted, notwithſtanding all the induſtry and activity of lieutenant col. Prevoſt, who exerted every ſinew to relieve our wants, not a word of complaint was heard in Georgia, and to promote the king's ſervice, made every thing eaſy, and was patiently bore by the men, who ſaw that their officers had no better fare themſelves; at laſt when the joyful news came, that the troops from the northward were arrived off the coaſt, theſe with me were ſoon ready to co-operate with them. Our artillery and amunition coming by water in open boats, the only poſſible conveyance, as we were unaſſiſted by any naval force, retarded us ſome time, as we were obliged to take a long circuit to avoid the enemies gallies; however the activity of lieutenant colonel Prevoſt, who had made a forced march in the night, and ſurrounded the town of Sunbury to prevent the enemy from eſcaping in caſe they deſigned to abandon the fort, afforded us ſome means of bringing a howitzer and ſome royals with which we ſoon obliged them to ſurrender the garriſon and fort at diſcretion. The priſoners, including the officers, amounting to 212; they had a captain and two men killed and ſix wounded: on the ſide of his majeſty's troops only one man was killed and three wound-

wounded, notwithſtanding they had two gallies and an armed veſſel firing on our trenches for three days, beſides 21 pieces of cannon mounted in the fort. After ſettling a garriſon in it, and ordering the neceſſary repairs, I proceeded to Savannah, to take the command of the army that came from the northward, hitherto commanded by lieutenant col. Campbell, to whom I beg leave to refer your lordſhip for the particulars of his ſucceſs againſt the enemy, and the ſteps he has ſince taken to ſecure the country along Savannah river. 1778.

I have the honour to be, &c.
A. PREVOST.

Total of the garriſon in Fort Morris, comanded by major Lane, the 9th of Jan. 1779.

One major, 4 captains, 9 lieutenants, 1 adjutant, 1 mate, 14 ſerjeants, 1 drummer, 172 rank and file.

Return of braſs and iron ordnance ſtores, in fort Morris (now fort George) at Sunbury in Georgia, the 13th of Jan. 1779.

Braſs ordnance 25, iron ditto 20, ſhot 925, muſkets 236, ſhells and grenades 80.

J. Fairlamb, cap. lieut. to the royal artillery.

A letter from capt. Hyde Parker, of his majeſty's ſhip Phœnix, to Mr. Stephens, dated in Savannah river.

SIR,

I am to requeſt you will be pleaſed to acquaint their lordſhips, that purſuant to the orders from rear admiral Gambier, commander in chief in North America, I ſailed from New-York the 27th of November, with the tranſports under convoy, and after a ſeries of bad weather, arrived off Tybee the 23d of December; a ſtrong ſoutherly current having ſet the fleet to the ſouthward, prevented my getting in until the 24th. The Vigilant and ſome tranſports not being able to get into the river before the 27th, prevented any operation from going on, excepting a company of light infantry, under the command of Sir James Baird, and conducted by lieut. Clark of the Phenix, ſent to Willmington iſland, in order to ſecure ſome of the inhabitants, to gain Intelligence of the ſtate of the enemy; in this they ſucceed-

1778. ed by bringing off two men, who informed us, that the rebels had two row galleys in the mouth of Auguſtine Creek; that the batteries, which had been erected for the defence of the river, were much out of repair, and very few troops in the town, but that a number was expected to arrive every day, in conſequence of this information, it was determined by col. Campbell and myſelf, that no time was to be loſt; therefore the moment the Vigilant was ready, which was the 28th, ſhe was ordered to proceed up the river with the Greenwich armed ſloop and Keppel armed brig, the tranſports following in the rear; the Comet galley at the ſame time went up the ſouth channel. This diſpoſition had the deſired effect, by cutting off the enemy's row galleys from getting back into the inland navigation leading to Sunbury, and obliged them to retreat up the Savannah river, which they did, after firing ſome ill-directed ſhot at the armed veſſels as they advanced.

Finding the battery upon Slater's iſland totally deſerted, the Vigilant and armed veſſels were ordered to proceed to Bruton's plantation, the place determined upon to make the landing; but the ſhallowneſs of the river did not admit of the Vigilant nearer than a random ſhot; the other veſſels were arranged along the banks of the river, oppoſite to the landing, juſt at dark. The water having ebbed conſiderably, many of the tranſports grounded upon the flats about four or five miles below the armed veſſels, and the others were obliged to anchor from the night coming on: This difficulty was in a great meaſure obviated by the alertneſs and activity of capt. Stanhope, charged with the command of the flat boats, &c. The firſt diviſion of troops were embarked in the boats, and rendezvouſed at the vigilant; but from the enemy's fires, they appeared to have taken poſt; it was therefore determined to defer the landing until day light, which was effected at the break of day, with the loſs of one captain and three or four of the 71ſt killed and eight or ten wounded.

As ſoon as the remainder of the army and artillery could be landed, which was compleated by two o'clock in the afternoon, colonel Campbell began to move forwards to the town of Savannah. The enemy appeared in force, but, by a judicious movement of the light infantry, every obſtacle was removed, and in a great meaſure the retreat of the enemy cut off: A number were killed and about 400 made made priſoners with the moſt of their artillery. As ſoon

as

as I could diſcover the troops had made an impreſſion, I moved up with the ſmall armed veſſels to the town, and advanced to the comet galley above the town; but night and tide of the ebb coming on prevented her from proceeding high enough to oblige the rebels to deſiſt from ſetting fire to the Hinchinbrook brig, which they had attempted to get up the river, but run aground about three miles above the town, as alſo a ſloop which was taken next morning. 1778.

On the 30th of December, having received intelligence that the two rebel row gallies were above five miles above the town, with ſome other armed veſſels, it was determined to ſurprize them by the troops on the banks of the river, and the boats ſupported by the armed veſſels upon the river, but either from the intelligence being falſe, or that the enemy had moved during the night, we found by information of the negroes, that they were five miles farther up, however the boats took poſſeſſion of a Spaniſh ſhip of ſixteen guns, that was aground and deſerted.

After the ſcattered remains of the rebel army had been forced to croſs the Savannah river into ſouth Carolina, it was judged by col. Campbell and myſelf the proper moment of holding out protections to ſuch of the inhabitants of Georgia as retained allegiance to his majeſty's perſon and government, by the proclamation and oath, and I have great ſatisfaction in acquainting their lordſhips, the effects have perfectly juſtified our moſt ſanguine wiſhes, by a very large majority of the inhabitants of the province of Georgia having already ſubſcribed to the oath.

Total of the killed and wounded on board his majeſty's ſhips and veſſels in the Savannah river, viz.

1 Seaman killed, 5 ſeamen wounded.

Total of priſoners taken by the ſquadron, 126.

Total of ſhips and veſſels, ſeized as prizes by his majeſty's ſhips and veſſels under my command, viz.

Ships 3, brigs, 3, ſchooners 2 ſloops 5, Polacre 1.

FINIS.

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